Max J. Friedländer

Early Netherlandish Painting

Hugo van der Goes

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'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

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VOLUME IV

Max J. Friedländer



Hugo van der Goes

COMMENTS AND NOTES BY

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FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, PUBLISHERS

NEW YORK · WASHINGTON

BOOKS THAT MATTER

Published in the United States of America in 1969
by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., Publishers
111 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003

The original German edition *Die Altniederländische Malerei* was published between 1924 and 1937 by Paul Cassirer, Berlin (Vol. I-XI) and A. W. Sijthoff, Leyden (Vol. XII-XIV).

Published under the direction of Ernest Goldschmidt

Design Frits Stoepman gvn, Amsterdam

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 67-13538
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Printed in Belgium and in the Netherlands.

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This edition is published under the auspices and with the aid of the Governments of Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands within the framework of their Cultural Agreements.

The publishers wish to express their gratitude to the chairman and members of the Committees for the Application of the Cultural Agreements between Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands for granting most valuable aid for research and editorial work, and to address also their sincere thanks to the members of the Advisory Committee, the Administrative Services of International Culture Affairs, the Centre National de Recherches 'Primitifs Flamands', Brussels, the editors, the translator and all those who by their work or advice have contributed to the realization of this new edition of Max J. Friedländer's major work.

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Foreword

On the titlepage of this volume is inscribed 'Hugo van der Goes', and nothing more. Apart from an assessment of this master and a discussion of his followers, it contains findings about lesser painters who were active at the same time as he, or a little later, in Brussels, as I have one reason or another for believing. I must not take the easy way of limiting myself to the great figures, but rather strive for completeness, insofar as the surviving store of pictures makes that possible. The trail-blazer from Ghent lived and worked cheek by jowl with members of his generation who jogged along in the old rut; and this carries the advantage that the inspired master stands out imposingly from the baseline of humdrum work.

Critics of my first three volumes have kept more to what I have said than to what I have done. Pointing to a few phrases in my first Foreword, they have scored my purpose as antiquated and narrow. They say I have carefully avoided the proper task of the historian, which is to go to the bottom of the total context. This stricture is based on certain fundamental remarks of mine. 'To go searching for connecting threads is almost tantamount to improvising them.' This sentence, which holds a warning, has come to cost me dear. The goal I like every professional delver into art envisage is the flow of events, the unbroken chain of cause and effect; and the degree in which I approach this unattainably distant goal may serve as the criterion for judging my conclusions. My sceptical aphorism was directed not so much to the objectively seen goal as to the subjective approach. One can find something without having sought it—indeed, every connoisseur knows from experience that one nearly always finds something other than what one seeks. When you go looking for strawberries, you know what a strawberry looks like—but when you go looking for interrelationships, you do not know what they will look like. The ever-present danger is precisely that the desire and the will to find something may, in the mind of the seeker, precociously project a connection—one that does not exist. The literature of art is full of prejudgments and intellectual acrobatics that serve to falsify the things that have been observed, or to arrange them in some arbitrary pattern; and in my view this tendency to anticipate, to lapse into special pleading, is one of the very basic faults that stem from too eager a quest. A proper context ought to emerge only from a completely unsophisticated review of all the surviving exhibits. The strawberry found may be the very spit of the strawberry sought; but the context—which I crave to grasp no less than any colleague concerned with the history of the mind—is bound to look different from what was expected. Whoever goes in quest of the connecting thread should keep his zeal within bounds—but neither should he become rattled when he does find what he was looking for.

Joseph Destrée, in his book, *Hugo van der Goes* (G. van Oest, Brussels and Paris, 1914), offers a compilation that is painstaking in the extreme, together with a not uncritical presentation that takes account of all the older literature. The illustrations cover virtually everything, including works I have not reproduced. I cite the book simply as Destrée.

The Life of Hugo van der Goes and the Portinari Altarpiece

Hugo van der Goes belongs to that small number of early Netherlandish painters whose fame is proclaimed at full cry by several voices from ancient times. Jean Lemaire's poem, *La Couronne Margueritique*[1], written about 1505, includes the line: *Hugues de Gand qui tant eut les tretz netz*, a well-meant but colourless laudatory phrase that probably means no more than '... who was gifted with so exquisite a line.' Vasari and Guicciardini mention the master, and van Mander devotes one of his *vitae* to him, albeit a paltry one. Guicciardini ranks him directly after *Giusto da Guanto* (Joos van Gent), with these words: *Et dietro a lui venne Ugo d'Anversa, che fece la bellissima tavola, che si vede a Firenze in santa Maria nuova.*

1. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters* (German edition, *Geschichte der Altniederländischen Malerei*, p. 414.)

Vasari mentions this panel in the very first edition of his *Lives* (1550), i.e. before Guicciardini; and none has yet doubted that these references are to the Portinari altarpiece, conveyed from S. Maria Nuova to the Uffizi only in our own times, and responsible, during the 19th century, for salvaging and nourishing our image of its author. Keeping pace with our growing understanding and with the body of stylistic criticism gathering about this Florentine altarpiece, the painter's fame has risen anew from oblivion.

Van Mander begins with a statement that is clearly wrong. Hugo, he says, was a pupil of Jan van Eyck. But then he contradicts himself, giving the right date, about 1480. One of his sources is *Die Historie van Belgis*, by Mark van Vaernewyck (1568), who describes several of the master's works in Ghent and Bruges, none of which has been preserved. Still, we shall get a glimpse of one of these pictures, from copies—*David and Abigail*, painted in oil on the masonry overmantel in the house of Jacob Weijtens at Ghent. The stylistic evidence of the copies, however shadowy, is enough to confirm the master's authorship of the Portinari altarpiece.

Hugo van der Goes was not born in Antwerp at all, as might be concluded from the words of Vasari and Giucciardini, nor in Bruges, as van Mander seems to have believed, nor in Leyden, as Opmeer wrongly states[2], nor in Ter Goes in Zeeland, as has been speciously concluded from his name. In all likelihood, he was born in Ghent. Testimony for this venue is an entry in an official document in Louvain, made in 1479/80—during the master's lifetime, that is—which explicitly states that he was *gheboren ... van der stad van Ghendt*[3].

2. *Opus Chronographicum Orbis Universi* (1611), p. 406.

3. Schayes, *Bulletin de l'Académie de Belgique*, 1861, Vol. 13, p. 343.

Little evidential value attaches to the fact that the name turns up elsewhere in Ghent documents, for there is no proof that it was not known in other places. A Cornelis van der Goes (Goux) is recorded in Ghent from 1493 to 1498. Alexander Bening, an illuminator who worked in Ghent around 1470 was married to Catharina van der Goes, who may have been Hugo's sister[4].

4. Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, Vol. 1, p. 79.

The town archives at Ghent have contributed a few biographical data. His work there can be followed from 5th May 1467 to 18th August 1475. On the former date Hugo gained his master's patent. As witness and sponsor at this event, *Josse van Wassenhove* is named—none other than the painter who became famous under the name of Joos van Gent. In the ensuing years, Hugo's name is mentioned in connec-

tion with commissions granted by the town. Scarce become a master, van der Goes was employed by the town regent. Among bills running from August 1467 to August 1468, is the record of a payment to him for a painting—*schilderie*—executed on the occasion of a proclamation of a Papal Remission of Sins.

The following year, the master received payment for a number of panels with
12 the arms of the Holy Father, to be hung at the town gates on a similar occasion. Payments for similar displays are entered for the years 1472/3; and in 1468/9 the master had been entrusted with work of the same character on the occasion of the solemn entry of Charles the Bold. Mention is here made of him and his assistants—*helperen*—and of flags with figures, for decorating the streets. In 1471/2 he received payment for a large flag with arms and animals, on the occasion of the presence of Charles the Bold. When Philip the Good was to lie in state at Ghent, 30 armorial bearings were needed to decorate the nave of the church, and this commission too went to our master (1473/4).

In 1468 sumptuous festivities took place in Bruges on the occasion of the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York; and it would seem that the resources of the painters of Bruges were unequal to carrying out the voluminous decorative work that had to be run up in a hurry. Hugo van der Goes and other painters from Ghent were summoned to the scene. Payments are recorded for Daniel de Rycke, for three of his assistants and for Hugo van der Goes, who got a substantially lower wage than did Daniel[5].

This decorative painting, with which the masters were so much preoccupied at the time, has scarcely survived even in remnants. It called for large formats and scales, effects that were exerted at a distance and execution on canvas in a hurry; and beyond doubt it contributed, as did the tapestry cartoons and drawings for stained glass windows, to expanding and loosening up the style of Netherlandish panel painting, which had its roots in the art of illuminating books. Hugo's sojourn in Bruges on the occasion of the ducal wedding may have caused him to meet Tommaso Portinari, local representative of the Medicis and exponent of Southern wealth and Florentine patronage, as it may have brought him other connections. Quite aside from the Portinari altarpiece, the Ghent master seems to have done a good deal of work in Bruges or for Bruges. All this helped his influence on the painters of Bruges, who were his own age or a bit younger, especially on Hans Memlinc and Gerard David.

The diary of Dürer testifies that Hugo's name still rang with full renown by the early 16th century. Dürer mentions only three quondam masters of the Netherlands—Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes. A good many works were shown to the German visitor, but on only a few occasions was a master's name mentioned in a context that impressed him sufficiently to be recorded in his diary. At Brussels, in the chapel of the palace of the counts of Nassau, Dürer saw the *gut Gemäl* Master Hugo had made; and, at Bruges, in the church of St. James he found precious paintings by *Rüdiger* (Rogier) and Hugo. *Die sind beede groß Meister gewest*, he added[6].

The fact that a painting in the church of St. James at Bruges was accounted to be by the hand of van der Goes is confirmed by van Mander and other witnesses. Van Mander praises a *Crucifixion*, with the two Thieves, the Virgin and other figures,

5. De Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, Preuves, II, p. 357.

6. Lange and Fuhse, *Dürer's Schriftlicher Nachlass*, pp.124, 12; 156, 14.

an altar panel that had been spared during the onslaughts of the iconoclasts, then overpainted, at last freed of its covering and now stood undamaged[7]. In apparent contradiction, Sanderus mentions a *Descent from the Cross* on the high altar of the church of St. James[8], while Descamps likewise speaks of a *Descente de la Croix, un tableau dur et sec, peint par Hugues van der Goes—il y a cependant quelques têtes avec de la vérité et assez belles*[9]. If we relate the three references to one and the same picture, we are bound to assume a minor error on the part of van Mander and conclude that the painting was indeed a *Descent*, but that it included the two Thieves, in other words that the composition was like the copy after the Master of Flémalle preserved in Liverpool[10]. Could it be that the original altarpiece by that painter was accounted a work of Hugo van der Goes in the 16th century? The Liverpool copy comes from Bruges and is marked with the arms of that town.

7. Van Mander, German edition, Vol. 1, p. 56.

8. *Flandria Illustrata*, Vol. 2, p. 81.

9. *Voyage Pittoresque*, 1769, p. 284.

10. Cf. Vol. II, No. 59.

In Ghent, where we might most reasonably expect works by Hugo's hand, van Mander saw a memorial to Wouter Gaultier, in that town's church of St. James, a triptych with the Virgin at the centre. Since it is emphasized that the ground shows pebbles and small plants, the Virgin, seen in full-face and full-length, must have been pictured seated outdoors, a figure scarcely one and a half feet in height. This is a pictorial type that is not characteristic of the Ghent master's circle of copyists and imitators, while it was indeed popular within the Bouts circle. Confronting a stained glass window in the same church, representing a *Descent from the Cross*, van Mander was uncertain whether the design was by Hugo or 'his master Johannes' (Jan van Eyck). In the monastery of the Brothers of Our Lady at Ghent, again according to van Mander, there was a panel by Hugo with the *Legend of St. Catherine*, a fine and skilful piece, although 'done when he was young.'

Van Mander speaks at length of the painting, *David and Abigail*, which, on account of certain romantic embellishments, seems to have done more than any other to keep the master's memory alive. Jacob Weijtens owned a house in Ghent, near the Muyde-bridge and surrounded by water itself. Here, on the wall above a fireplace, van der Goes had painted David's encounter with Abigail in oil. Van Mander has words of high praise for the grace and modesty of the female figures. Love guided the painter's brush, he says. Hugo, 'then a bachelor,' was deeply in love with a daughter of the house and depicted her from life. Lucas de Heere devoted to this romantic legend a sentimental sonnet, which van Mander reproduces.

In the church at Vosselaere near Ghent, there was a panel by van der Goes, showing Christ on the Cross and other lifesize figures. It was destroyed by the iconoclasts in 1575[11].

11. Al. van Hoorebeke, *Histoire de la Commune de Vosselaere*, pp. 113 ff. (as cited in Destrée, p. 155).

Van der Goes was elected dean of the painters' guild at Ghent as early as 1474, and he was confirmed in that dignity until 15th August 1476. The last time he is mentioned in the Ghent archives is on 18th August 1475. His rapid and successful career in the community and the guild was abruptly terminated in the autumn of 1475. Shortly before 1st November of that year, van der Goes became a monk in the *Rode Klooster* (Red Cloister) near Brussels, where he died in 1482. A detailed report by a fellow monk, who shared his novitiate, gives us a picture of his life in the monastery. It forms the invaluable basis for all the speculation over Hugo's flight from the world and the psychological interpretations of his fate. The chronicler was named Gaspar Ofhuys and came from Tournai[12].

12. The original manuscript is in the Brussels library and is entitled *Originale Cenobii Rubeevallis in Zonia prope Bruxellam in Brabancia*. It has been translated with exemplary fidelity into German and provided with a commentary of great astuteness by Hjalmar G. Sanders, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 35, 1912, pp. 519 ff.

Van der Goes became a *frater conversus*, a class of religious who, while they shared the monastic obligations, were usually entrusted with hand and craft work. They were not so much clerics, like the other monks, but rather servants of the monastery. Hugo van der Goes, however, occupied a position quite out of the ordinary—to the chagrin of some of his fellows. He arrived as a celebrity, a man who had won distinction outside. His like was not to be found 'this side of the mountains,' Ofhuys remarks. One senses that the Prior, Father Thomas, took the painter's peculiarities into account and—with the best of intentions—allowed him to seek solace in the most diverse occupations. One also senses the envy and agitation of the brothers about this preferment. The master had not given up all his ambitions with his flight from the world. He went on practising his art and more than once received visits from highly placed personages, including the Emperor-to-be Maximilian—'for all felt a burning desire to see his paintings.' The Prior, presumably proud of the skill and prestige of this singular monk, allowed him entry to the guest chamber, to share in the feasting that there took place. Ofhuys remarks astutely and not without malice: 'In this wise his name grew more celebrated than had he remained among men of the world.' Hugo's equivocal position and notoriety wrought their effect. He wanted to become a monk, and he wanted to remain a painter. At times he may have rued his flight from the world. He was, by turns, vacillating, difficult, inconsistent, presumptuous and humble. He sought security and seclusion, and in the same breath railed at the egalitarian obscurity of monastic life.

Van der Goes suffered from an illness of the mind. Ofhuys grows voluble in describing and interpreting this illness. His judgment of its causes is dictated by his keen powers of observation, but he was possessed of all the prejudices as well as the knowledge of his time. A cleric, he is moralizing, austere and pharisaical, sharing the views of his fellow monks, who remained suspicious of worldly vanity. What we do get from him is a clinical report. Some five or six years after his entry into the monastery—in 1481, that is—Hugo van der Goes travelled to Cologne with several of the brothers. One night, on the return voyage, he was overcome by a strange disorder. He kept on complaining that he was delivered to eternal damnation and wanted to do away with himself, an endeavour in which his companions were able to restrain him only with difficulty. He was brought back to Brussels, where the prior of the Red Cloister took him in charge. Well-disposed towards him, the father resorted to gentle remedies. Mindful of how David's playing of the harp had lifted the evil spirit that had descended upon Saul, freeing and relieving the king's mind, he had much music played in the presence of the unfortunate Hugo. But the painter's state of mind failed to improve. His speech continued to be confused, and he bemoaned his fate as a child of perdition. He was returned to the monastery proper, where the monks nursed him devotedly. Ofhuys, of course, is a special pleader. He defends his own, denies rumours that circulated, presumably about the harsh treatment to which the famous painter was subjected, perhaps even charging that the pressures of monastic life lay at the root of his mental illness. Even if there were a kernel of truth in such talk, the reporting brother tells us nothing about it. In the end, van der Goes recovered. Rid of his delusions, he lived humbly with the monks, renounced all preferment, dined with the lay brothers rather than in the refectory. Soon after his recovery, he died.

To his report, Ofhuys adds very curious discussions, instructive to the medical historian, that cast a sharp light on the painter's state and the spirit that prevailed within the monastery walls. He is open-minded and surprisingly objective, offering a scientific explanation in addition to his clerical and mediaeval judgment of the case. Yet he shrewdly eschews offering his own preference between the two.

The talk, Ofhuys reports, was of *frenesis magna*, the 'great raging of the brain,' as well as of possession. Both illnesses were associated with violence. The painter kept on trying to lay hand upon himself, never on others. An attempt is made to explain the mental illness from natural and physiological causes—certain foods, strong wine, emotions like sadness—here the diagnostician seems to be turning in a vicious circle—and lastly the evil effect of malignant humours.

The reporter even ventures upon the borderland between the physical and the psychical, touching upon the delicate chapter of genius and insanity. He speculates that overexertion of the imagination may injure the blood vessels of the brain. One can almost hear the controversy, the animated discussion in the monastery. Two parties take form. On the one side the orthodox, who view the illness with its morbid depression and delusions and suicidal tendencies as God's punishment for pride and vanity; on the other side the enlightened and compassionate, who strive for a natural and medical explanation.

The superstitious theological verdict reacted upon the painter's state of mind, deepening his delusions and lending them content. He himself may have looked upon his affliction as a punishment, and upon his recovery he became submissive.

Not with a single word does Ofhuys touch upon the question that is of such importance to us—the reasons why Hugo fled from the world. According to his narrative, the illness came on abruptly and catastrophically. Such it seemed to be, such it appeared to those nearest to him.

We have no indications of any kind that van der Goes had worked anywhere else before acquiring master's status in Ghent. In respect of his training, we are entirely dependent on stylistic analysis. Assuming the customary age at which painters became masters, we may with some degree of likelihood deduce the year when he was born. Hugo probably saw the light of day about 1440 and thus lived no longer than 42 years. His active period may be accounted to have lasted 14 years—his seven years in Ghent, and the time he spent in the monastery, endeavouring to carry on his work in an altogether different environment, under utterly alien and limiting circumstances. The onset of his illness about 1481 actually put an end to his work, or at least interrupted it for some time. The store of paintings that have been preserved has been considerably augmented by virtue of stylistic criticism, but apart from the Portinari altarpiece none of the works mentioned in the sources is included. Copies in substantial number allow us to draw conclusions about lost works. Taking all in all, we gain the impression of immense productivity, combined with steady and rich growth and a certain restless capacity for change. During his illness, the master was deeply troubled about completing all the pictures he still had to paint. This remark in the chronicle points to a feverish compulsiveness that may be regarded as both a cause and a consequence of his illness.

If the period of Hugo's active work is considered to fall into the years from 1467 to 1482, the Portinari altarpiece, the authenticated work, lies at the halfway point

(10, Plates 14-18). The time at which this Florentine triptych was created may be established with rather firm accuracy, without bringing stylistic analysis into play. Tommaso Portinari is shown kneeling, on the left shutter, with two of his sons, his wife Maria Baroncelli, with a daughter, on the right. The donor's marriage falls into the year 1470. As the foremost merchant in Bruges, councillor to the Duke of
16 Burgundy and member of an ancient and respected Florentine family, Tommaso was a conspicuously openhanded intermediary between North and South. The birth dates of some of his children are known[13]:

Maria, 1471 (?)
Antonio, 1472
Pigello, 1474
Margherita, 1475 (?)
Guido, 1476

13. Warburg, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 23, 1902, p. 259.

Five further children followed. Only the three eldest are shown in the altarpiece, We must conclude that the work was completed before Margherita and Guido were born. Without a doubt, the donor would have wished to appear with all his progeny. The execution of this large triptych must have taken at least two years, even if the master, to please his Florentine client, set back all his other commissions during that time. We are certain to be not far wrong, if we put the creation of the Portinari altarpiece between 1473 and 1475, especially since the painter departed Ghent in the autumn of 1475 and would have scarcely taken so voluminous a work with him into the monastery in an unfinished state. It is true that the children look older than we would expect from this dating, even when we plausibly assume that the donor portraits came as late as possible within the allotted time span. Four years at most for the girl, three and one for the boys—the evidence of our eyes disputes these ages. Yet this precociously mature and unchildlike appearance of the children is to be expected, both from general experience, and from Hugo's own approach, in particular. The mother too looks much older than the woman of 25 she actually was at the time.

The Portinari altarpiece marks the conclusion of the Ghent period and was completed just before van der Goes sought refuge behind the monastery walls.

In physical dimensions, the Portinari altarpiece outstrips all the early Netherlandish works, clamorously proclaiming the wealth, pride and pretensions of a donor accustomed to the Italian scale. The centre panel is more than three metres wide. The Netherlandish master, grown up in a tradition of work on a minuscule scale, enforced a composition in keeping with the dimensions, wrested monumentality from his reluctant brush. We can still sense the tension that flows from his ambitious effort, the driving pressure inherent in the uncommon challenge.

The state of the painting is better than inexpert statements in the literature would lead one to expect. Certain defects and blemishes obtrude—turbid places in the varnish, crude retouchings at the now projecting round wooden dowels that join the boards and at other places where the paint layer has crumbled away. The panels are not overcleaned, and nowhere does the uneven coat of varnish cover the original paint layer so as to pervert it. The *Annunciation*, in grisaille, on the outsides of the shutters, has suffered badly from neglect. Best preserved is the inside right shutter. The donor's portrait on the left shutter is much the worse for wear.

The centre field shows a *Nativity*, composed along traditional lines, but with enrichments that dominate the overall impression. The shepherds, commonly assigned a modest, subsidiary rôle in the background, showing up in a doorway or leaning over a wall, here give vehement expression to their devotion, equal in prominence to the angels and the Holy Family. Indeed, we are inclined to describe the picture as an *Adoration of the Shepherds*. It is this emergence of the 'third estate' that must have exerted the strongest impact on contemporaries. The master welcomed the touch of realism which the coarse and low-born men brought to the sacred and supernatural circle. It gave him occasion, as a careful observer, to break new ground on his own by introducing things he had actually seen—figures, faces, gestures, clothes. Then too, his dramatic instinct told him that contrast would enhance the impression he sought to make. Lastly, as a man of compassion, he was glad of the opportunity for proclaiming the message of salvation to the meek and lowly.

In the effort to fill the wide expanse, the cast of characters has been augmented, especially the number of angels, of whom no less than nine are shown kneeling, while still others soar above. The ceremonial group forms a kind of living tableau, into which the shepherds blunder with their naïve wonderment. Their touching show of sentiment disrupts the solemn occasion and at once enhances it. One shepherd, his face of Slavic cast, breathless from running and excitement, can scarcely contain himself. His mouth gapes open, baring two rows of teeth, with a gap in one of them. This bit of individual realism, unprecedented in a painting, far from jarring the devotional air, fits in perfectly, ennobled by the ravenous hunger for faith that shows in the shepherd's face.

There is nothing relieflike about this composition. It does not run quietly at a major level, parallel to the picture surface, equidistant from the beholder's eye. Instead it sweeps boldly and deliberately away into the distance, at an angle, the figures dwindling, to create the illusion of space in many nuances. All superficial symmetry has vanished. The eye is guided along wide lines, from the shepherd's faces at the upper right, diagonally past the hem of the Virgin's robe, towards the white angels at the lower left, while the horizontal elements, parallel to the frame—the sheaf of straw, the Christ Child, the angels to the rear—form a stiff, harsh contrast to this obliquity. Space opens deeply towards the right, but it is defined less by being filled than by being bordered with figures—it is an interstice. Figures and groups of figures are placed at a distance, one from the other, all facing the Child, on the right and left, to the fore and behind, forming an irregular oblong. Foreshortening and perspective, including also the medium of colour, help deepen the space. The angels are carefully placed as distance markers, almost like milestones. The progression is from an interior in deep shadow, opening up towards the right into the brightly lit distance.

The Child, almost scrawny in his appealing helplessness, lies on the bare stone ground, cynosure of the veneration that crowds in from all sides, while still keeping an awed distance. Heaven and earth are both represented in the circle of the Holy Family. Angels fill the gaps in the garland of figures. No aging, troubled little man is Joseph—he rises up in dignity, sheltering, protecting. The Virgin kneels at the centre, inclined in the direction of the opening space. The shepherds epitomize all mankind, and behind them, in the light-flooded distance is a hint of the wide

world, with the multitudes as yet unaware that for them the Saviour is born.

With the specific means of his art, the painter has physically set apart the figures, different each in his own way, unmindful of each other, yet interlinked by a common bond, the grave and stirring bliss of the hour.

It is not all of a piece, this forcibly realized vision. The child seems to float on a
18 smooth tide, the shepherds burst in like a tall breaker, the angels resemble jagged and immovable cliffs. The ground is seen in high perspective, the figures, nevertheless, from waist level. This dual viewpoint enhances the baffling sense of tension elicited by the unstable composition, with its gaps. Joseph is shown in an attitude of prayer usually reserved for the donor. His bulk and three-dimensionality are fully consistent with the picture scale. Other portions, like the symbolic still life elements—vase, tumbler, sheaf of straw—that close the circle at the front, are stiffly lined up. The angels, stuck together by twos and threes, seem like concretions imperfectly disengaged from the surface.

Overall, the colouring is on the cold side, yet possessed of that luminosity peculiar to all Netherlandish panels, flaunting its saturation against the quattrocento tempera altarpieces of Florence. They are outdoors colours, seen from a distance, and thus helping to engender a sense of the far corners of the earth. Local colour changes with the coloured bodies' orientation towards the source of light and the eye of the beholder. The flesh of the Virgin and the angels is chalky, silvery, bloodless, of aristocratic pallor. In the middle, the sharp blue of the Virgin's ample gown, with the angels' robes in blue and white, except for some red brocade and green fabric in the right foreground. Joseph in scarlet, a ponderous, earth-bound contrast to all that bright sky-blue. Dingy greens and browns in the clothes of the shepherds, bringing in the smell of the soil.

At upper left, the shadows thicken. Over a wide area, the formal detail is bathed in a chiaroscuro that helps organize it. The space between Joseph and the Virgin is pervaded with a deep, transparent half-light, from which ox and ass emerge, as well as the angel hovering overhead. Massive shadows—a kind of disembodied gloom—here order the composition, and everywhere cast shadows enhance the depth and bulk of the figures. The lighting, streaming in from the left is carried out with utter consistency.

The brushwork is not content simply to follow an even tenor of diligence, with item upon item fastidiously shaped. Pigments are applied sometimes impasto, and again with a glazelike finish. Under pressure of the large format, not only has the conventional pictorial approach been relaxed, but traditional technique as well.

The shutters with their saints and donors stand forth like pillars, soul-stirring although without the venturesomeness of the centre panel. By comparison, their palette is deep and warm, and they form definitive terminations. The challenge put to them is of simpler kind. The saints impress with their sovereign yet easy majesty, while the portraits, instinct with nobility, depict personages who are their sacred companion's spiritual match. Memlinc too painted this couple, and his half-length portraits are now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. We are thus in the way of making comparisons, and nothing fosters understanding like such apposition. In Hugo's eyes, Memlinc's ill-favoured lady, touched with fatigue, becomes a translucent vessel that holds sorrow. Prematurely aged, weighed down by the

claims her position puts upon her, she kneels at the feet of the holy women, displaying a dignity bereft of hope. Scarcely credible that she was but 25 at the time. Her daughter, only five, but wise far beyond her years, joins the mother in shy aloofness.

The Portinari altarpiece was completed in 1475, the very year in which Dirk Bouts died. Advanced and extraordinary as it was, possessed of inward and outward grandeur, this creation failed to make as strong an impression in the Netherlands as might have been expected. At least, it left no trace in the form of copies or imitations. Presumably the triptych was transported to the South and installed in Florence soon after it was finished. A panel painting by Domenico Ghirlandaio, a *Nativity* dated 1485 and now in the Uffizi, hints at an effort to emulate the Netherlander, in the faces and hands of the three adoring shepherds. But for a familiarity with the Portinari altarpiece, the Florentine would have scarcely invested his figures with so much individual realism. This kinship has been noted more than once and may serve as testimony that the altarpiece by the master from Ghent stood in Florence before 1485.

The Works of Hugo van der Goes

20 Using the Portinari altarpiece as a point of departure, stylistic analysis has lately ascribed a number of panel paintings to the Ghent master. Ludwig Scheibler successfully set the pace. It is now for us to examine these pictures. We must fit them into an evolutionary chain, first because a knowledge of the master's itinerary holds out the hope of understanding him better, and again because in many cases the authorship of a work becomes evident only when it has been properly fitted into a temporal sequence.

I shall endeavour to present those pictures I regard as Hugo's works in such a way that a history of his art will emerge; but first I want to offer a few remarks of a basic character—indeed, in some degree, of general validity.

By and large, any dogmatic judgment that declares a work of art, from its character, to be a work of either the artist's youth or old age is the sheerest delusion. Stylistic criticism may conceivably determine which of two works by a single author is the earlier and which the later, insofar as every artist, if one ignores his time and his individual characteristics for the moment, may be said to follow the same general trend. As the eye grows far-sighted, repetition, experience, habit become discernible, and every creation is determined by the sum of the work the artist has done before. His organs are quickened by use, his powers enhanced by their exercise; but tedium, manner, fatigue, routine, imitation and even copying of his own forms, loss of spontaneity and creative exhaustion are also bound to show. Once differences in an artist's creative mode have been established, these phases are usually unmistakable and fixed in time. As we would expect, and can indeed observe empirically on every hand, formal idiom develops with a degree of regularity—from detail to whole, from the petty to the grand, from the linear to the pictorial, from point to breadth, from leaf to branch, from branch to tree—a trend, be it said, only strong talents succeed in pursuing against the trend of the time.

In the broadest terms, one may speak of temperament appropriate to age. Passionate striving seems to be peculiar to youth, gentle and sovereign contemplation to old age. Yet we can scarcely expect this typical sequence of maturation and aging in Hugo van der Goes, who died comparatively young, whose work we can follow for no longer than 14 years at most and whose inward life, moreover, was shadowed by pathological upheavals. Genius unfolds by laws far more exacting than those that govern mere talent. It is harder to see in perspective too, less subject to checks and balances. Its naïve and spontaneous originality is overlaid with a certain hesitancy in conscious creation—until the inspired artist grows convinced of his own stature and steadily gains assurance. More and more, the grand master becomes himself. Once we have examined the core of his being, the trend of his development is established in broad outline. In the case of the Ghent master, a study of the Portinari altarpiece should suffice to lay bare that core. Since we know, moreover, that this creation lies at the halfway mark of his career, there should be little trouble in

deciding which of the other works were done before and which after. Oddly enough, we do encounter unexpected difficulties.

We do not know his point of origin. We do not know who was Hugo's teacher. We lack any idea of his earlier work in Ghent. Joos van Gent, who acquired master' status in Ghent a few years before van der Goes, seems to have been more a friend of his own age than a painter who influenced him. The stylistic level of his unknown teacher, the sum of traditional experience passed on to the learner—we can only conjecture about these as we turn our eyes to Jan van Eyck, to Rogier and to Dirk Bouts.

The Portinari altarpiece leaves us in no doubt about the nature of the master's inspired achievement, a giant step forward; and it permits us to measure the distance he had travelled along the road he was to traverse in general; and once the goal has become discernible, the achievements closest to it must be seen as the latest.

Although overall the direction runs from the petty to the grand, there is a pitfall in that a master's smaller pictures are commonly accounted his earlier, the larger his later ones. Yet scale and format are not freely chosen by a master, but imposed upon him; and scale and format necessarily dictate the overall approach, large areas, for example, eliciting a large figure scale, and inward grandeur as well. At all levels and in all circumstances, a master working within a restricted field paints carefully, delicately, precisely, with a pointed brush; while on a broad surface his strokes are more generous and heedless—all this, to be sure, only to the degree in which he is able, by natural endowment, to yield to the pressure, respond to the challenge of scale and format. If we assume that van der Goes, throughout his career, was obliged to do both large panels and small, then, by the natural order of things, we are entitled to a further assumption, namely that at an early stage he found the small format convenient, while later on he welcomed the large, in other words, that we should sense him shrinking from wide areas in his youthful work while in the creations of his mature period we should see him troubled by a narrow compass.

In the present case, such a prediction is all the more justified, since small format and the style appropriate to it were associated with teaching and tradition. Van der Goes had to set out to conquer the means for filling wide areas, motivated by his personal approach, the power of his mind, the depth of his feelings. Our next task therefore, must be to look for works that foreshadow the monumental character of the Portinari altarpiece.

St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, in the Brussels museum, is a modest work—nor merely in physical dimensions—in which Scheibler long since recognized Hugo's style (2, Plate 2). The painting lacks character and authority. It easily escapes the casual eye, and some may say that it is 'not important enough.' Nevertheless, it is not a copy. It includes subsidiary detail that manifests acute and autonomous powers of observation—the kind of detail in which copyists all too often lag and flag. There is the open prayer book, for example, with its pages gaping in the form of a fan. Among the best parts is the head of the clerical donor, who would have scarcely been taken over from the original, even had there been one.

The pyramid-shaped main group, St. Anne with her daughter and grandson repeats the old hieratic motive with a poignant touch of humanity. St. Anne, of

matronly aspect, is seated on a low grass-topped wall. The Virgin sits on the ground at her feet, not on her lap, as in so many other pictures. The two women outdo each other in fussing over the child, St. Anne holds him by the hand, while the Virgin has placed her right hand on his body, to keep him on his grandmother's lap. With her left she reaches under the arm and behind the body of the child, palm showing
22 and fingers bent, as though ready to grasp him, a gesture that is a noteworthy characteristic of the master. The upreaching arm bespeaks an instinctive movement, the eloquence of which does not quite come off. There is a slight air of constraint over the whole composition, and in some parts the draughtsmanship lacks finish and animation. The grasping hand of St. Anne, for example, is almost coarse.

The heads are conspicuously large, and the Ghent master's individual emotional mood speaks from the faces. That of the infant Jesus is sad in expression, with a lost unfocussed gaze. He hangs his head a little, like a child precociously matured through sorrow. The donor's features are prominent, particularly the ear. His face is half-turned towards the child, whom he regards wistfully from sombre eyes.

The whole constellation of qualities is, I think, best explained on the assumption that what we have before us is a youthful work, in which Hugo's powers are seen to stir as though yet in bud. I am confirmed in this belief by the fact that repeated examination discloses ever greater depths, with not a trace of imitation—telltale marks like superficiality, disharmony or misinterpretation.

Another painting I am inclined to regard as an early work of the master for similar reasons as in the case of *St. Anne with the Virgin and Child* is the half-length Madonna in the John G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia (1, Plate 1), compounded in equal parts of the Rogierian tradition and of elements contrary to that same tradition. The rich background shows a rolling countryside, organized in wide horizontals, with rows of oval-shaped trees that overlap one another in part. A single tree with a tall, thin trunk rises in the middleground. A sharp-edged, rocky outcrop is given prominence. In this larger scale, the contours of the human body are more plainly discernible than in the Brussels *St. Anne*. The Virgin holds the child with both hands in a fold of her robe, which she has gathered up high. He squirms in his awkward position, spreading his limbs, clumsily struggling against maternal dominion, refusing to be confined in the plane of a relief. His attitude shows greater complexity and dramatic tension than anything from the Rogierian or Boutsian circle. His child's head is half-twisted towards the front with some effort. His eyes squint slightly, and his face bears a troubled, almost angry expression, in contrast to the Virgin's solemn countenance. Her face is circled by a succession of frames—a dark head-band with a piece of jewellery at the apex, a cascade of wavy hair, a white kerchief and, lastly, the hood of her mantle. Her hands are three-dimensionally elaborated and highly articulated, the joints slightly thickened, the egg shape of the nails sharply accentuated. A cleft shows between two pairs of closely joined fingers in the left hand.

Half-length Madonnas against a landscape background were a popular and preferred type in the second half of the 15th century. It seems to have arisen in Dieric's circle, no specimen from Rogier's studio being authenticated, so far as we know. If I am right in placing the present panel about 1470, it would be among the earliest representatives of this type of composition.

The half-length Madonna acquired for the Brussels museum at the Onnes auction is readily classed in the œuvre of Hugo van der Goes, without much fear of opposition (3, Plate 3). First, however, we must be quite clear about the state of this panel. I have in my possession a photograph taken before the picture reached the hands of a German art dealer. The paint layer had become rather threadbare, and a restorer painfully filled and closed it, not without disfiguring the forms in the process. He got the object wrong that the infant Jesus appears to be twisting and strangling. The child's lips are parted in his absorption with his play. What he grips so firmly with both hands is a live bird, which the restorer has contrived to turn into something like a sausage. The original modelling was lost in part, and the restorative efforts to round out the forms again have done violence to the finer points in such degree that scrutiny of detail becomes fruitless. All that is left to testify for the master's authorship are composition and gestures, the relationship between figure and landscape, the landscape elements and the Madonna type itself [11].

The eloquence of the hand is enhanced by the novel motive of the crossed fingers, as compared with the two pairs of joined fingers in the Johnson Madonna. The Virgin here bears herself with natural assurance, the lines of her mantle drooping straight down from the top of her head. The child sits upright, his back straight, his limbs pivoting lithely in their joints. The mother's face, reminiscent of the moon just short of fulness, resembles in shape, inclination and expression the Virgin's in the Brussels *St. Anne*. The landscape with its heavily clouded sky and thin-stemmed trees capped with dense foliage bespeaks a penchant van der Goes shares with Dieric Bouts, a lyrical joy in the green of leaves and the blue of distant hills.

The diptych in the Vienna museum with a *Fall of Man* and a *Lamentation* inside and a *St. Genevieve* outside (4, Plates 4-6) is one of the few works unquestioningly accepted as by the Ghent master, no sooner was his image reasonably clear in the light of the Portinari altarpiece. Yet the step from the Florentine triptych to the Vienna panels is not as easy as all that, for scale and format create a rather different overall impression. Nevertheless, the master's personal idiom was recognized. The spiritual depth that rings out movingly from these faces rules out any chance of an imitation for the connoisseur—and indeed, no painter is capable of shaping a face that looks cleverer than he is himself. The authorship is not in dispute, but the time of origin is debatable. The Vienna panels are generally regarded as youthful works. The pointed delicacy, the filigree quality that are conspicuous and dominant characters in comparison with the Portinari altarpiece, play their part in creating a certain archaic impression, but this is in some degree attributable to the format. To accommodate a superabundance of observed detail within a narrow compass was scarcely possible without self-imposed limitations in draughtsmanship and required a sharp eye and an equally pointed brush. I agree that the Vienna paintings were done at a relatively early stage, that is to say in the time before the Portinari altarpiece, for I sense in them not only tension, effort, striving and ambition vindicated, but also a certain absence of foresight and experience. On the other hand, the bud has now opened, the master has grown aware of his special skill. I cannot grant that this work is far removed in time from the Portinari altarpiece.

The story of the Fall of Man is told against a rich background of landscape detail.

The gently rolling Garden of Eden is shown at the height of midsummer foliage, underneath a deep blue sky, the sun playing on the leaves in many shades of green. In the foreground stands the Tree, and just before and to one side of it Eve, reaching up without looking to pluck an apple. In her drooping right hand she holds another apple, from which she has already taken a bite. Having had her taste of it,
24 she reaches for the second fruit, for Adam, who stands by her side at the left, his left hand upraised to receive it. At the right, erect against the tree, is the serpent with the head of a woman surmounting a reptilian body with webbed feet, the hide variegated in venomous yellows and violets.

With some pains, the three figures have been aligned in a single plane and turned towards the beholder. Eve is at the centre, but the arrangement of the two side figures, Adam and the serpent, is anything but symmetrical. The man tops Eve by half a head, the serpent is more than a head shorter, creating an oblique line that parallels the hilly horizon, which also declines from left to right. It would have been a simple matter to redress the balance, by making the line of the horizon run downwards in the opposite direction. Van der Goes, however, preferred and emphasized the diagonals, expressing conflict in the angular impact against the frame.

When the two halves of the diptych are joined, there is still no overall balance. On the contrary, the dramatic tension is heightened by still further parallel obliques.

Adam stands tall and stiff on big feet. He is tanned and covers his private parts with one hand, as though ashamed of his unwonted nakedness. His thoughtful countenance bears an expression of diffident gravity. Eve, of light, whitish complexion, easily bears the burden of her abundant hair. Her smooth body is caught up in a complex, rhythmical movement. Adam remains passive and knowing, while she unconsciously twists and turns in provocative action, almost as in a dance. The serpent's keen gaze is urgent and seductive. The bright bodies are set off against the emerald foliage, modelled with light, transparent shadows and enlivened with reflections.

The execution is inordinately subtle. Thin pigment layers are superimposed in such a way that in places the underlying brushwork shines through the flesh tints in a bluish pattern, as though muscles and tendons were visible through transparent skin. Apparently the master's ambition was pointed in the direction of discovery and the field of his enquiring zeal was the complex human body. He flung himself into the rare opportunity to display the fruit of his study in the form of nudes, with evident pride in his new and fresh knowledge. Not content with the given form, he paid close heed to functional organic life, to the bony structure pushing through the bare skin, to the network of sinews that invests it with life with its tensions and contractions.

The rigidified body of Jesus in the other panel looks almost like an anatomical preparation. That panel displays a high degree of precision in draughtsmanship in all its parts, but is saved from pedantry by its richly expressive differentiation. Crowded into the narrow compass are the sorrowing and mourning men and woman, ten figures almost in a single plane. All the faces are brightly illuminated, sharing equally in the overall mood. None fades into the background. The locale is all but hidden from view by the dense knot of people, only the distant brow of

the hill with the Cross being visible beneath a cheerless sky, a bare, barren, disconsolate scene. The body of Jesus and the figures of the Virgin and St. John run in oblique parallel, while the heads form oblique parallels in the other direction. Quite outside this system of crossing diagonals is the figure of Mary Magdalene on the left and that of the woman at extreme right who seems to have just joined the group. Perilously poised, as though on a steep declivity, the men and women accomplish their labour of love. The mass of figures pushes downwards towards the right, and the frame offers no hindrance to the pressure—the picture is open, so to speak. The woman wailing with upraised hands looms into the picture, is cut off by the frame. A brusque asymmetry enhances the illusion of purely fortuitous subdivision. The bold novelty of this picturesquely irregular, steeply arranged and precariously tottering structure becomes manifest the moment we glance back at Rogier's compositions, comparing their symmetry, their plain and steadfast rhythm.

The third picture, on the outside, now split from the *Lamentation*, shows St. Genevieve in grisaille, standing on a cushion. In the spandrels above are two tiny simulated relief carvings, Cain and Abel offering sacrifices, and Cain slaying Abel, the very same themes shown in similar spatial conditions above Adam and Eve in the Ghent altarpiece. Van der Goes seems to want to excel his precursor, turning lack of space into a virtue, easily fitting his vehemently moving figures into the tight and pointed corners without any sense of crowding. The spirit of Gothic statuary echoes in the noble figure of the saint, especially the rhythm of her body and the robe that flows downwards to cover her feet.

The two inside panels of the diptych are well-preserved, although they have been cleaned rather to the point of sharpness. The original paint layer, almost like polished enamel, lies open, with blue predominating rather than red. The colours shine rather than glow.

The small half-length Madonna, preserved as the middle of a triptych at the Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, must have been done at about the same time as the Vienna diptych, judging from the style (5, Plates 7, 8). The donors of this smallish altarpiece, Willem van Overbeke († 1529) and his wife Johanna de Keysere († 1517), were married on 5th February 1478. This does not date the Madonna itself but gives us a *terminus post quem* for the whole work. The painter who did the donor wings, fitted the Madonna with its original frame into the triptych and added the armorial bearings and the motto *en esperance* was but a feeble imitator of Hugo van der Goes.

The Virgin, conscious of her mission, holds up the infant Jesus for all to see. The child sits there triumphant, holding up a pink like a sceptre. The mother's air of gravity contrasts with the alert, almost merry animation of the boy, who seems to be waving his flower at the congregation in greeting. His bare body is elaborated with mastery—the twists and turns of the limbs, the lively contours, the gliding shadows, the silvery sheen of polished enamel. The Virgin's unusually large hands are carefully elaborated in their soft fleshliness, hinting that the master had gained assurance and was purposefully applying his knowledge of form. The neutral dark background, ornamentally illuminated with rows of light dots, constitutes a tawdry filling for which mediocre painters had a predilection towards the end of the 15th century and is scarcely in keeping with our image of the master. Could it be that

the painter of the donor portraits, working over the centre panel, added the patterned ground [21]?

Only trifling remnants are left of the paintings on canvas which van der Goes did, like almost every 15th century Netherlandish master. They were exposed to neglect and decay in far higher measure than the panel pictures, and what is left looks pale,
26 dim and dismal, in consequence of inappropriate treatment. The coarsegrained fabric was covered with water colour. The multi-layered, glazed brushwork that gave the precious paintings on wood their enamel-like smoothness and luminosity was not even attempted on canvas, which received a more cursory treatment—swift execution at bargain prices, a kind of substitute for the much more costly tapestries. Judgment must be adapted to the exigencies of this technique. We cannot apply the same standards of refinement and precision to which we are accustomed with panel painting.

Best-known to me among paintings on canvas in the style of the Ghent master is the *Mourners at the Cross* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (7, Plate 9). An original by Hugo's hand, it has turned brown and become dull and blurred, because the varnish, wrongly applied, has bitten deep and caused damage. It is a fragment, an incomplete composition, the object of the lament being absent. The body of Jesus might be expected to be at the left. Yet the picture is unlikely to be a cut-down fragment, for the group seems to have been conceived for an area of this size and to be complete within it. We know this invention in more or less free imitations, e.g. a diptych by Memlinc in the Capilla Real at Granada (7b). A comparison confirms that the Berlin canvas is preserved in approximately its original dimensions and that it must have once formed the right half of a double painting. A diptych proper, of course, could scarcely have been made up of canvases, and in the present case we must probably envisage two adjacent frames that could not be articulated. On the left half, the body of Christ, taken down from the cross, obliquely facing the mourners, precisely as in Memlinc's double picture. The fact that van der Goes did indeed paint a *Descent*, complementing the Berlin canvas—hence that Memlinc borrowed the entire composition from van der Goes—can be proved, for we know two copies of the *Descent* in the style or the Ghent master, in the Bargello and in Altenburg (24a and 24b, Plate 9). Neither of these replicas can be considered to be the missing half of the Berlin picture, if only for the reason that both the Altenburg and Florence compositions would be its mirror images. In the copies, the body of Jesus lies diagonally from upper right to lower left. The Florentine piece, moreover, while showing in the background the kind of hilly contour continued in the Berlin half, is far too small to merit consideration as the original. The larger and better copy in Altenburg, on the other hand, lacks that contour. The two replicas in reverse, nevertheless, offer a welcome means for piecing out the Berlin picture.

The heads are grouped closely together, yet not unduly crowded but arranged, instead, with mature and meaningful skill, all the personages depicted seeking to come close to the descended body. The upraised, wide-spread arms that embrace the group on the right and left serve as a bracket. The faces emerge ghostlike from a dead limbo, with expressions of profound but subdued and monotonous grief. It is hard to reconstruct the original character of the painting in one's mind and to

determine in what measure the irritating patchwork of chiaroscuro was part of the painter's purpose or is no more than disfigurement.

Similar to the Berlin picture in technique and state of preservation—and hence as difficult to judge—is the half-length Madonna Eisenmann correctly identified and acquired for the museum at Cassel (6, Plate 8). To have noted this seemingly insignificant work constitutes a major achievement of this excellent connoisseur, whom Scheibler was fond of calling his teacher.

Mother and child are in intimate association. The child is in a state of imperfect awareness, almost as though still inside his mother's body. All his limbs are drawn close and contracted. A few elements are not unlike the problematical picture in the Johnson Collection, especially the child's feet, seen, the one from above, the other from below, in both pictures. The whole painting is austere, ecclesiastical, lacking in contrast—and it shows a disc-shaped halo, as an unusual element. Nevertheless, it cannot have been painted at too early a stage, in any event after the Madonna in the Johnson Collection, for the formal idiom, insofar as it becomes discernible, resounds fully developed and personal.

Before concluding the sequence of pictures we instinctively feel were done before the Portinari altarpiece, let us, in the absence of inscribed dates, look for indications that might help stylistic criticism establish the time of origin of the various altarpieces.

Van der Goes added the donor couple to the St. Hippolytus altarpiece in St. Sauveur's at Bruges, which Dieric Bouts had begun[1] (11, Plate 19). Hippolyte de Berthoz, a resident of Bruges, had ordered the altarpiece with the martyrdom of his name saint in Louvain. How explain that the Ghent master rather than Bouts painted the couple? Somehow Bouts must have been prevented from carrying out the full commission, either by his own death, or because Berthoz from the outset preferred the Ghent master as the better portraitist. Perhaps, too, Berthoz and his bride found it easier to sit for van der Goes than for the painter in Louvain, especially since Hugo often came to Bruges. On the first assumption, we have a date, Dieric's death (1475), before which the portraits could not have been painted. On the other premises, an earlier date of origin would be possible.

1. Cf. Vol. III, p. 19, No. 29.

Oddly enough, the donor couple on the left shutter are shown kneeling in black attire outdoors, without any protecting or commending patron saints. The landscape with its buildings was at the very least designed by Bouts. The Ghent master faced the challenge of adding figures to a pictorial context not of his making. This patchwork has left its mark. The figures look as though they are stuck on to the panel like cut-outs. Seen on their own, they are constructed obliquely in depth, with a mature sense of space. The fact that the effect of illusion remains wanting, leaving an awkward sense of emptiness in the middleground, is owing to the dual origin of this shutter. The two figures, kneeling at a convenient distance from each other, fail to provide the kind of filling and obscuration of the middleground Dieric's landscapes demand. Yet considering the difference in scale, these two portraits, elaborated with supreme finesse, may well have been done about the same time as the Portinari altarpiece. The St. Hippolytus painted in grisaille on the back of the shutter with the donors, was painted by van der Goes.

As to the time of origin of the altarpiece shutters in Holyrood Palace, this is an

exceedingly complex question (12, Plates 20, 21). Four portraits are shown: on the left shutter outside, Sir Edward Bonkil, dressed as a canon; on the inside, King James III of Scotland, and behind him a boy, likewise in royal ermine, probably his son, James IV-to-be; and inside the right shutter, the king's consort Margaret, a Danish princess. James III married in 1469, and his son was born in 1472 or 1473.

The prince looks to be at least ten years old. Consequently, the commission would fall into Hugo's last years, if indeed he could still have been alive at the time. To avoid this contingency, the curious expedient has been adopted of declaring the boy to be the brother of the Scottish king[2]. On that assumption, the shutters would have come into being between 1469 and 1473, before the birth of the son.

2. Weale, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 9, p. 418.

A further consideration is that the painter never visited Scotland and therefore had no opportunity to paint the royal family from life. Quite evidently, the portrait of the clergyman is altogether different in character from the portraits on the inside.

Bonkil did visit the Netherlands. Van der Goes painted him from life. It was he who gave or at least brought the commission, whether on behalf of his royal master or acting on his own initiative. Perhaps he did not wish to let the opportunity pass of visiting the land of fine painters and ordered the shutters as a gift to be presented to his king. Faces and hands of king and queen are vacuous and primitive, evidently not executed by van der Goes. Better and more nearly worthy of the master is the head of the boy. The evidence of our eyes would be reasonably explained on the assumption that the Ghent master sketched the donor figures of the Scottish royal family from data supplied by Bonkil, leaving heads and hands more or less unfinished; and that a painter in Scotland was put to filling in the missing parts, painting the portraits from life as well as he was able, at times even clumsily covering up some of Hugo's own brushwork. As for the prince—if he is indeed the son—van der Goes may have simply acted upon Bonkil's general instruction that the heir apparent was to be represented as a boy behind the king and then simply drawn on his store of types, without troubling about individuality or precise age. Likeness, which he was unable to offer so far from Scotland, would have been obligatory in the case of the parents, but not for the boy. We need not hesitate to regard the child as the king's heir, while still dating the shutter 1477 or 1478. Agreed, the boy does not look to be four years old, but van der Goes never saw him; and the Portinari children—whom he did see—also look much older than they were at the time.

The Holyrood shutters are generally belittled, chiefly because the additions and disfigurements are not taken into account and no allowance is made for them in judging the paintings. Exhibited at the Grafton Gallery in London in 1911, the originals have been inspected in their wonted location by only a few connoisseurs. They are, in part, in a poor state of preservation. In the panel with the king, the lake-coloured tabernacle is in good condition, as are the architectural details and the saint's rough wooden cross, less so his head and green robe, while his hands and the book appear to have been thoroughly overpainted. Head and hands of the king cannot be remotely considered the work of the Ghent master. The king's robe and book show more of the original pigment than the prince's vermilion garment. By comparison, the shutter with the queen is harmonious in effect. Although the portrait head is dry and empty, its contours, at least, hark back to the

master's manner. The St. George—or whatever other sainted knight he may be—is essentially intact, and reasonably worthy of van der Goes. The shutter with the Trinity has been vigorously 'restored,' and badly mutilated in the process. The only remaining clear evidence of Hugo's handiwork lies in the body of Jesus, the loin cloth and the dove. Well preserved in the main, and by far the most beautiful part is the panel with the clerical donor, the outer righthand. Sir Edward Bonkil—like the couple in the St. Hippolytus triptych without benefit of a sainted patron—kneels in front of an organ at which two angels busy themselves. Even admitting an echo from the Ghent altarpiece, we incline to puzzle about the special reasons for the emphasis on this instrument. Are we dealing with organ shutters rather than altar shutters? Did Bonkil have an organ built for some church in Scotland? Did he have himself depicted as the donor of an organ?

Casting a critical eye back to the organ panel of the Ghent altarpiece, we are instantly impressed with the immense progress in respect of the treatment of space. The narrow panel affords a view deep into a church and its lofty Gothic choir. The figures, arrayed on the sides of the obliquely positioned organ, are in natural proportion to the mighty structure. Locale and figures are seen from a single vantage point. The knowledgeably constructed perspective is supplemented by a dusky chiaroscuro in the space that sweeps away to the left, while the figures, lighted from the front, move freely in the air.

The spatial elements are similarly projected in the interior shutters. The eye sweeps away into depth from out a tabernacle that forms a dark and quiet background for the figures but leaves a narrow aperture through which a bit of the structure is visible. In type, the apostle and the angels are reminiscent of the Portinari altarpiece, which the Holyrood shutters must have followed in time, although not by very much—at least to my mind.

The triptych in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, with an *Adoration* as the centrepiece, has been properly recognized as an original by Hugo's hand (8, Plates 10, 11). In common with virtually all the panel paintings in the Russian museum, it has been transferred from wood to canvas, suffering horrendous damage in the process. Searching analysis soon fetches up at the line where the half-destroyed work is no longer able to speak for itself. All we can go by is the themes and the composition. On the right shutter is a *Slaughter of the Innocents*, on the left a *Presentation* 131. The figures move with unexpected and almost sportive ease. They are petite and lean, enhancing the effect of agility. In place of the spiritual gravity and analytical acumen that inhere in the Vienna diptych, what we find here is rhythmic movement, a kind of lithe prettiness.

The *Adoration* is symmetrically constructed, the Virgin in the middle, before a narrow brocade runner held by two hovering angels and flowing down in gently curving lines rather than vertically. The three Magi are on the left as an integrated group, one behind the other, partially overlapping, Joseph on the right, alone. The middleground and background hold many figures, investing the picture with an air of robust life. All the elements are accommodated with ease in the area and the space.

The *Slaughter of the Innocents* is highly dramatic, with a sense of flowing movement. Perfect and harmonious within its self-imposed limitations, this triptych was done a bit later than the Vienna diptych, in my view, and a bit earlier than the

Portinari altarpiece. Following closely upon the youthful works, it shows a gain in experience and assurance, a loss in gravity and profundity.

The small triptych in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna shows an *Adoration*, with the two junior Magi on the left shutter, while the right one is given over to the youthful donor, in canon's robes, and to St. Stephen (9, Plates 12, 13). The centre
30 panel accommodates a pyramid composed of the Virgin, Joseph—to the rear and in the middle—and the senior Magus, on his knees. Space is everywhere at a premium. The panels look as though they have been cropped, which is not the case. The impression is of a painter, unaccustomed to such small dimensions, who neglected to adjust his scale accordingly. Within the constraint of the narrow shutter, the second king, seen in sharp profile, stands stiffly upright in an almost military posture. In contrast to the delicate nimbleness that marks the St. Petersburg *Adoration*, an oppressive air prevails here. The chiaroscuro is more marked, the hues more deeply saturated. A few elements are of archaic aspect, like the second king, reminiscent of Bouts, and the child's posture. Judging from the freer and more expansive attack, this triptych seems to have been done after the diptych in the Vienna museum, but probably still before the Portinari altarpiece.

Apart from donors, we have no portraits by the master's hand, a lacuna all the more to be deplored since, by endowment, van der Goes, with his keen eye for the individual and spiritual, was ordained to be a portrait painter. There is a single head, a clean-shaven man of mature years, in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, which I venture to attribute to the Ghent master (13, Plate 24). In truth probably a fragment, cut down from a votive panel, this picture was in the Dreicer collection, with which it reached the Museum, catalogued as a Rogier van der Weyden. The background is a dark, neutral shade, opaque, probably worked over, against which stands out the ascetic head of a thinker, his large features deeply moulded, glancing downwards in half-face, with a worshipful attitude. The sharply arched nose projects to the contour of the sunken cheek, and even beyond. The eyes are deep-seated. The light falls brightly from the left, modelling the bony face and laying bare its structure. A broad half-shadow along cheek and temple is sharply marked off from the clearly lighted mask of the face, in which eyes, nose and mouth are foreshortened in perspective. The ear with its prominent cartilage looms large on the shaded side. The hair, shaved at the temples, lies slightly askew on the domed skull, like a wig.

A donor portrait, done in large scale, is seen in the panel that was long exhibited in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, only to end up in the Walters collection at Baltimore (18, Plate 32). The picture shows St. John the Baptist with the donor, their heads and hands in close conjunction. John bends slightly forward behind the donor's head, as though to whisper something into his ear. The composition seems to be almost bursting the frame. The large scale of this panel, which is probably half of a diptych, seems to have been chosen in order to give the greatest possible room to portraiture. A transparent chiaroscuro plays over this proudly erect head, full of nervous tension, with its deep vertical furrows over a bold aquiline nose. The picture surface consists of a rhythmical sequence of bright and dark patches. I look upon this panel as a very late work of the master, marking his farthest advance as a painter.

That the *Death of the Virgin* in the Bruges museum is a creation by the Ghent master has not been in dispute ever since his name was first mentioned in connection with it (14, Plate 22). The panel has found more awe and admiration than love and enthusiasm. In the literature its poor state has been deplored more than once, without any reason, for it is in fact well-preserved. There is little varnish over the paint layer, which has dried out a bit, giving a cold, sharp, almost naked effect. 31

The 12 disciples form a dense throng about the Virgin's deathbed. They sit, crouch, stand, and express their grief in vehement gestures. A flaw in the manner in which the perspective is constructed impairs the spatial effect. The back wall runs parallel to the horizontal lines of the frame, as does the footboard of the bed, which projects into the room at right angles to the picture surface. But in conflict with this arrangement, the dying woman is not oriented in this direction, but lies in such a way as though the bed stood at an angle. Up above, the room opens and widens. Christ hovers there in a glory of light with two angels who hold his spreading mantle. The vision of the heavenly group, soaring with fluttering robes within high, arching curves, contrasts with the angularity of the milling and moiling sons of the earth in the chamber. Christ is half the height of the apostles, in other words lofty and distant, yet directly over the bed. The figures, arrayed before, beside and behind the bed, five deep, require a space of at least six feet. Yet all the heads and hands seem to be at about the same distance from the beholder, within the same plane of light and space. In the master's imagination, human compassion prevailed in such a degree that he sacrificed chiaroscuro, unity of space, consistency of lighting to his desire to let the chorus of grief sound forth, plainly, loudly, movingly, with many voices. The colouring is garish and sullen in effect—blue in the middle, the Virgin's countenance white as a sheet, vermilion and lake over wide areas, only a little green, no yellow. The drawing is of consummate skill, with certain habitual mannerisms standing out—strands of hair that cross, highlights in the eyes. The men are not of a kind to practise restraint and patience. Their agitation is almost obtrusive, and their aimless need for action disturbs the solemnity of the hour. In despite of painstakingly pursued variety in gesture, the overall expression is naggingly monotonous. The men are almost crazed with grief, beyond the limits of what they can bear. They pray, protest their sorrow, turn away overcome, stare at the Virgin's face, the while she, rigid with despair, suffers the harrowing throes of death. The Saviour, symbol of tranquillity and transfiguration, approaches in smooth and swooping flight.

One may call this dramatic deathbed scene psychologically overweighted, but as a personal profession of faith it is more illuminating than any other work. We shall see that van der Goes depicted the theme of the Virgin's death more than once, for copies and imitations tell us so. In the hours of his illness, he dwelt upon ideas of extremity and the grief of parting.

Certain features of the Bruges panel are noteworthy and startle us with their advanced character. The soaring Christ is generalized in type, and his beauty has a vacant quality. This is quite unexpected in the master's career as we know it and suggests a dating as late as possible. One means of dating this panel has been sought in the hypothesis that Schongauer's engraving of the Virgin's death goes back to van der Goes. Were such a connection indeed evident, the painting must have been

done before 1475, the latest date at which the engraving can have been done. But the connection, in fact, comes to nothing.

The *Nativity* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin is quite like the centre panel of the Portinari altarpiece in theme and cast of characters, yet done in an altogether different way (15, Plates 25-27). The predella-like format of the panel
32 required a completely new approach. The whole story is read off from left to right in a single continuity, so to speak. With his predilection for large and soulful heads, the master kept the excessive width under control by placing a half-length lifesize figure to the very fore at the extreme right and left. These prophets have drawn aside a veil, themselves stepping aside. They raise the curtain, stage the scene—the Nativity, the Adoration of the Shepherds. The familiar group—the full-length figures half-lifesize—is invested with new meaning, exalted to a higher stage of spirituality by the ominous gestures and expressions of the prophets. The notion of this veiled triptych organization may have been suggested by the memory of ancient mystery plays and by the iconographic tradition we know from block books and tapestries. In the mediaeval view, the men of the Old Covenant prophesied the Saviour's coming, and on occasion the heralds were depicted with him whom they had proclaimed. With innate creative power, van der Goes turned a lesson in theology into something that moves us directly. The rich and complex spiritual message is given a visionary quality. Only a moment ago, the scene was still hidden from view. Now it appears, in a dramatic framework, its dramatic character accented by the grave countenances of the heralds. We look into the eyes of these mediators, and we see with their eyes. Indeed, it is their yearning, their visionary power that has created the scene in the beholding—an event preached and displayed as ever-present, now and in the future, beyond all temporal limitations. Rather than in words, all this is said in the features of faces which inner struggle has, so to speak, turned into battlefields. The Holy Family is seen in transfigured tranquillity, the shepherds in even greater agitation than in the Portinari altarpiece, and all the figures are crowded beneath a low roof, bent low, kneeling, close upon one another.

At the centre of the perspective rather than the true axis of the panel lies the child in the manger, adored of Mary and Joseph, who kneel to the left and right. Angels, clustered like grapes, together with ox and ass, fill the interstices. Close by the Virgin is a soaring angel, behind her two more, another behind Joseph. The stable wall forms a dark background at centre, with a view of the bright distance on either side, especially the left, where the shepherds burst in, all out of breath, marking a flood of light that illuminates Virgin and angels from that side.

The Virgin with her angels is pale and cool, ash blonde, her coloration kept in blues and grey, tints of the distant sky, while Joseph, on the shaded side, is arrayed in earth-bound red. The shepherds show dim and faint colours, broken up by interior shadows and marginal lights. The framing half-length figures are sombre in scarlet and lake brocade, heavy, stiff, grainy. The whole composition is overendowed with contrast—two scales, half-length and full figures, cold and warm, light and dark, visionaries and vision, reality and projection, combined with great assurance and artifice into sinuous rhythm.

The effort which, in the Portinari altarpiece, went into organizing the vast, deep,

empty space, seems to have been abandoned here, perhaps because the low format would have rendered it pointless, or perhaps because the painter's identification with his figures dominated everything else. Indeed, the shapes and postures of the figures show greater mastery, maturity and experience than the Portinari altarpiece, a more sweeping and flowing quality. The angels' faces even reveal something akin to routine. Certainly the Berlin *Nativity* was painted later than the Florentine altarpiece—as far as I know, all judges of discrimination are agreed on that. By comparison, the line of the Berlin panel, its sharp delimitation of areas, are slightly mannered in effect—though only by comparison with the Portinari picture—the spontaneity and the approach to the types a bit jaded.

In some features, the *Nativity* in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House (16, Plate 25) is related to the Berlin panel. The assemblage is symmetrical and centralized—Virgin, child, angels (this time only four), Joseph and the two shepherds. The picture area is boldly treated as a section straight from nature, a squarish aperture into which heads and hands are stretched from below and the sides. Only the child is shown entire, only the Virgin, at centre, in full face, at ease in space. The Virgin is girlish in type, high of forehead, her figure rounded. Indeed the whole formal idiom is here shifted a bit towards the empty, high-curved detailed side.

When I first saw the great *Adoration*, which came to Berlin in 1913 from the monastery of Monforte (17, Plates 28-31), my view of van der Goes and his development was already reasonably well established, and I had to make room for a new guest at a table that was already crowded. In considering the relationship in time of this picture to the other works of the master, I long wavered and endeavoured to learn from my professional colleagues, especially Adolf Goldschmidt[3]. What few opinions have come to my knowledge agree in declaring the Monforte altarpiece to be an early work that must be put before the Portinari.

3. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, new series, Vol. 26, pp. 221 ff.

I must confess I had trouble in accepting this view. On the other hand, I had little luck in trying to find another theory to take its place. No matter how I approached the task, fitting in the work was difficult and left me with a feeling of uncertainty. I never stopped thinking it to be necessary to distinguish this painting sharply from the Portinari altarpiece, in one direction in time, or in the other. In agreement with all connoisseurs, I regard the Vienna diptych as an early work, the Berlin *Nativity* as a late one, meaning that the former was done before, the latter after the Portinari altarpiece. The question is: what is the relationship of the Monforte panel to the Vienna diptych and the *Nativity*? It stands alone and resists being classified on either side. In its colouring, particularly, it is superior.

Quite apart from the Monforte altarpiece, there is no glib solution, no ordained sequence springing from inherent necessity—at least not in a degree that would make possible a clear-cut before-or-after decision in every case. Well, we should have scarcely expected a classical paradigm in the development of Hugo van der Goes. It stood to reason that there would be fluctuations, regressions, blind alleys and surprises of every kind. Truth is more complex than error; and one reason why reason cannot comprehend it, in this case, is that genius scorns reason.

It is easy enough to propose a seemingly irrefutable sequence, so long as one uses one scale to measure all the links in the chain. One may, for example, proceed on

the assumption that van der Goes moved from pointed to round forms, that he was 'moving towards the Renaissance.' The chain is then unbroken, but it becomes disrupted as soon as we pose other questions, related to the illusion of space, for example, or to lighting and chiaroscuro. Nor can we ignore what happened to the painter's mind. He entered a monastery and then fell ill. We may assume that within
34 the monastery walls, the shadows descended more and more deeply over his pensive and self-tormenting mind. If we envision that the *Death of the Virgin* was painted inside monastery walls, this seems out of keeping with the notion that the Monforte altarpiece was painted there.

The *Adoration* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum is overwhelming not merely in its physical size but its inward grandeur. It is a princely painting, sumptuous, almost opulent, filled with scarlet and purple, velvet and furs and precious stones, peopled with high-minded men, a surging composition, insinuating itself with its beauty of form, its magnificence of colour. Yet the sharp sense of urgency is lacking, the pointed, jagged character, the halting bitterness of the soul that mark other creations by the Ghent master. However grand and profound the Portinari altarpiece may be, it lacks the impeccable perfection of this work, which radiates wholesome felicity and assurance in its rounded and insightful mastery. The two portraits at right are of Italianate harmony. The forms are broad, three-dimensional, full and ponderous, not as clearly articulated and sharply elaborated as usual. The drapery flows without a trace of harsh and brittle crinkling. Compared with this panel, all the master's other creations are more or less sketches. The Monforte panel is the middlepiece of a triptych. The original frame with its iron hinges in which the shutters were once suspended remains. The pinnaclelike projection above the centre is gone—it was cut away. Replicas give us an idea of the missing parts. There is a small and insignificant copy in Vienna, while both in that city and in Antwerp there are better and freer copies by the hand of the so-called Master of Frankfurt. The Antwerp replica forms the centre of a triptych, with a *Presentation* and a *Nativity* on either side. Are we entitled to reconstruct the shutters of the Monforte altarpiece accordingly? Did the Master of Frankfurt borrow all the parts of his triptych from van der Goes? Apparently he did not invent the composition of the shutters himself, and in character they may well hark back to the Ghent master. The only puzzling feature about this assumption is that there is no accommodation for the figures of donors. The Netherlandish copies, as well as the fact that Geertgen tot Sint Jans knew the Monforte picture (for he borrowed a figure from it[4]), suggest that this great panel was created for a Netherlandish altar, having been transported to Spain only in the second half of the 16th century. In the process, the top was probably lopped off, perhaps because it got in the way, and the shutters may have been dismantled and left behind.

4. Adolf Goldschmidt, *loc. cit.*

From whatever point one examines the Monforte panel, it cannot be a youthful work. The umbilical cord that joined the master to native tradition is severed. Here the horizon lies at a comparatively low level. As we have seen, and shall see further when we consider the copies, the master painted no other theme as often as the Adoration. The composition of the Monforte picture is star-shaped in groundplan, the adoring figures surrounding the Virgin in an arching pattern. This is not particularly original, but it does have the quality of maturity. Hugo's bodies are

moulded and posed with a lordly taste that partakes of the Renaissance. There is a translucent chiaroscuro over wide areas, and consistent lighting rather than strict perspective provides the illusion of space and controls the deep and harmonious colour scheme. Like no other work of the master, this one is free of the dramatic tension, with which we believe, perhaps mistakenly, he became more and more obsessed; and in this respect the Monforte panel is at opposite poles from the *Death of the Virgin*. If we knew of any episode that brought the master peace of mind, some beneficent interlude, perhaps associated with a journey—if we had any evidence, for example, that he had ever visited Italy—it would be much easier to account for this anomalous work. And if I assume that this triptych was done after 1475, this would point to a belated period of mental health and intellectual freedom, suggesting that for a time at least the monk found peace and harmony behind the confining walls.

Copies After van der Goes—the Influence of his Art

36 A meteor flashing across the heavens, Hugo van der Goes failed to equal, both in durability and extent, the far-reaching effect of Rogier van der Weyden, whom we may liken to a fixed star. The period of his activity was too short to give him lasting effect as a teacher. Half of this time, moreover, he spent in a monastery where the training of assistants, if it was possible at all, was in any event severely circumscribed. The extraordinary cannot count on the kind of understanding that begets a succession. It was not so much the totality of Hugo's achievement that was accepted, utilized and passed on, but rather individual aspects of it. His compositions and motives, in particular, came as welcome aids to Netherlandish painting about 1480, a time when its originality lagged. It was a misfortune for the town of Ghent that Joos van Wassenhove worked there for only four years before emigrating to Italy, while Hugo van der Goes turned his back on the town after only seven years.

In arranging the rather voluminous store of panel paintings, drawings and book illuminations that show a hint of van der Goes, we must distinguish three basic groups: outright copies; paintings into which the pictorial heritage of this master has found entry; and works by comparatively autonomous painters who seem to have been stimulated by the master in greater or lesser degree. We cannot carry out this differentiation with complete consistency, particularly since we cannot judge with complete assurance the relationship between imitations and lost originals.

Copies after known originals are shown in Catalogue A. Copies after lost originals (Catalogue B) are far more noteworthy, for they expand and reinforce our view of the master. Their distinguishing characteristic is that however mediocre and unworthy of van der Goes the execution may be, they still reveal his creative cast of mind. Some items of this group, however, are works by independent and even important masters, men like Hans Memlinc and Gerard David, who did not hesitate to translate whole compositions by the Ghent master into their own formal idiom.

In sifting out the second group, we catch eminent painters as beneficiaries, the Dutchman Geertgen, for example. We note further that the art of illumination in Ghent, and less immediately in Bruges, was particularly stimulated by the formal idiom of Hugo van der Goes.

Casting about for disciples and followers of the master, we are led far afield—all the way to France. In this process of gleaning, we shall inevitably have to consider some works—paintings and drawings—where the question of van der Goes *versus* a copyist or follower must remain open.

It is hard to fit into the sequence of original paintings those works known only in shadow, so to speak, i.e. from copies. The testimony of fine detail is wanting, and we are likely to be led astray by flaws in the translation. Even so—disregarding the quality of execution for the moment—there may be constellations of figures here and there that are characteristic of some phase in Hugo's development, permitting an approximately correct dating of the originals.

The copies of the mural painting, *David and Abigail*, mentioned by van Mander (19, Plate 33), all resemble one another and might offer welcome confirmatory evidence by independent witnesses—if they were indeed direct copies from the original. Alas, it would appear that all the specimens, done about 1600, are copies, one from the other, so that we are reduced to a single piece of evidence that gives us little more than the composition, remarkable as that is.

The narrative relates, side by side in space, two encounters that followed each other in time. A wide country scene, divided by round hillocks, permits the separation of massed figures by foreground, middleground and background, folds in the ground partly covering some of them and giving rise to a sense of movement, opposition and intersection along the oblique lines in the terrain. The ladies make bold to approach the hero in serene humility. There is a great entourage, with many asses and horses, leading upwards and downwards along a ravine. In the back, on high, the edge of a wood closes off the scene. The emotionally surcharged main group is in the left foreground, invested with great dignity and a flowing context by means of the heavy trains of the robes. David inclines forward slightly in a gesture of royal grace, to raise up the lady kneeling before him. It is an epic account of mobile panoply and feminine appeal.

Extraordinary in subject and technique, painted over the mantel of a bourgeois home, the work was bound to stimulate legend. As Lucas de Heere and van Mander report, the master's brush—he was than still a bachelor—is supposed to have been guided by love for a daughter of the house. This typical artist's anecdote supports the impression that issues from the modest and dignified women's figures, but it should not mislead us into declaring the mural to be a youthful work. In all likelihood, nevertheless, it was painted before 1475, during the Ghent period. In its open composition and expansive landscape, the lost mural has but a single close relative, the large drawing in Oxford with Jacob and Rachel, which must be considered an original, despite a certain harshness in the outlining pen-and-ink strokes[1].

1. In the Christ Church collection. A good reproduction, in somewhat reduced size, appears in Colvin's *Selected Drawings*, Vol. 3, Pl. XVIII. The drawing measures 34 × 57 cm and is done on a grey-grounded paper in black pen-and-ink with white highlights and a black wash.

It is a charming pastoral idyll with a patriarchal air (Plate 102). The herds—goats, sheep, cattle—are keenly observed and realistic, especially the sheep, milling towards the water. The landscape with its low horizon is simple. The wash technique of the distant trees is surprisingly advanced and may possibly have been added later. The main group is of consummate mastery—Jacob impulsively embracing the woman, the woman herself coy and stiff. The types and the harsh breaks in the drapery suggest an early period in the master's career, and perhaps this worked-over cartoon dates back to the time just before the Portinari altarpiece. In the Hevesy collection at Paris is a stained-glass sketch—Jacob at the well, with sheep—that has been cleverly copied from parts of the Oxford cartoon by one of Hugo's students (41).

Other items are nearly always seen to be copies upon closer scrutiny. A *St. George and the Dragon*, a rather thin and delicate pen-and-ink drawing once in the A. von Lanna collection, Prague[2], lays serious claim to being regarded as an original Plate 102) (51. The composition is of consummate parsimony, and of a delicacy reminiscent of goldsmiths' relief work. Without a doubt, it goes back to van der Goes. No mere copyist could be credited with this sensitive, punctate draughts-

2. Schönbrunner-Meder, No. 1, 390.

manship. It is true, however, that the somewhat thin and spare work would have to be dated from the master's early period.

No theme engaged Hugo's attention as often as the Adoration of the Kings. I count seven compositions, although only three specimens by his own hand have been preserved. We have already discussed the originals—the centre panel of the
38 Petersburg triptych, the small triptych in the Liechtenstein gallery, and the Monforte altarpiece. From more or less reliable copies, we may conclude that there were two wide compositions with half-length figures, one of which we encounter in Bath and Madrid (21, Plate 35), the other in New York and Copenhagen (22, Plate 36). It is possible to argue plausibly that Gerard David's *Adoration* in Munich is a rather faithful copy after van der Goes (20, Plate 34). Lastly, we encounter faint traces of a seventh invention in paintings by the Cologne Master of the Holy Kindred (Plate 105), and in a drawing from the hand of the elder Holbein.

The testimony which these imitations give of the originals must be examined with suspicion. The copyists proceeded more or less freely. They were quite capable of shifting some elements about, of blending borrowings with other elements of their own invention, as can be verified in the case of Gerard David's Munich *Adoration*, for in this case we can fall back upon a close although inferior copy of the lost original in Berlin (20b, Plate 34) and make our own comparisons.

We cannot in every case conclude that there *was* a lost original. The Ghent master's ideas may well have found their way into other workshops, even without panels having been copied in full or part. Drawings or cartoons may have been the medium.

When we compare the various Adorations by van der Goes, or going back to his work, we have an opportunity for measuring his creative power and following the development of his compositional style. We find a marked propensity for offering the old theme in a new version on each occasion, bespeaking a wealth of inner resources and ambitious adaptability. These traits are all the more impressive, because the Netherlanders of the period were prone to stick with tenacity to a given solution. They were prepared and qualified only to change familiar elements about, not to recast a composition completely.

The composition chosen by Gerard David in the Munich picture involves a broad format with full-length figures, essentially arranged in relieflike layers (20, Plate 34). It is halting and archaic in effect. The kneeling page passing the gift to the youngest king was represented in similar fashion by Joos van Gent in his *Adoration*, painted about 1468[3]. In the background, the horses are being watered after a long and exhausting journey—high-bred, spirited and powerful animals, they are led around in a circle.

3. Cf. Vol. III, No. 101.

By comparison, the picture with half-length figures, of which we have faithful copies in Madrid and Bath (21, Plate 35), is firmly linked to tradition and seems to have been done at a rather early period. The child is shown in a simple, extended attitude, after the manner of Rogier, and similarly to the Liechtenstein triptych. There is one 'objective' criterion that will be welcomed by those many, especially, who distrust stylistic analysis. The brocade runner behind the Virgin shows the same pattern, a trefoil, as the sleeve of the Magdalene in the Vienna *Lamentation*.

I think I can sense the gradual maturing of this pictorial theme. One objective

was to bring the kings and Joseph as close as possible to the child, to give everyone a clear view of the goal. This purpose was best realized by placing the child at the centre of a circle formed by the Magi and Joseph. Van der Goes came closer and closer to a treatment of space that required the figures to overlap boldly. In the Petersburg panel, the three Magi are arrayed behind one another in depth, approximately equidistant from the child. In the Monforte picture, each figure is at a different angle to the surface while turned towards the child, giving scope for free development, despite the dense throng.

From two copies of approximately equal merit (in New York and Copenhagen; 22, Plate 36), I conclude that there was another wide picture with half-length figures. At first glance it looks austerely schematic and primitive, although it predicates a mature approach to the problem of space and is close to the Monforte panel in many features, especially the chubby child in lively motion. The representation borders on the grotesque. The second king, with his fanned-out beard, and the black man are reminiscent of bogeymen. As in the Monforte picture, the infant Jesus is alert and squirming, yet he turns away from the old man, in touching but almost naughty innocence, while still squinting over at him, as his mother grasps his small foot—in the Monforte picture it is the hand. Neither of the copies is lacking in a certain power of its own, an almost peasantlike vigour. The so-called Master of Frankfurt may be considered as the author.

I think I come close to the truth in suggesting the following sequence in time:

1. The wide picture with full-length figures, of which there is a copy in Berlin, in addition to the Gerard David picture in Munich.
2. The wide picture with half-length figures, with copies in Bath and Madrid.
3. The centre panel of the triptych in St. Petersburg.
4. The triptych in the Liechtenstein gallery.
5. The Monforte panel.
6. The original of the copies preserved in Copenhagen and New York.

The Cologne Master of the Holy Kindred seems to have known the Monforte picture, directly or indirectly, for in one of his *Adorations*, recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 105), the figure of the second king, half-kneeling with his sword between his legs, right [61] arm upraised, is taken over from van der Goes. Another *Adoration* by this same master, currently on the market in Amsterdam, shows the eldest king, kneeling in side view and kissing the child's feet, similarly to the first picture. This stately figure also harks back to van der Goes, although it is nowhere findable in his work.

Oddly enough, a drawing by the elder Holbein[4] shows the same combination the second king as in the Monforte picture, the first in a different pose, similar to that in the picture by the Master of the Holy Kindred. Presumably there was a variant to the Monforte composition, a painting or drawing that served both the Augsburg and Cologne masters as a model.

4. In Basle, reproduced in Glaser, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Pl. 43, No. 33.

A third *Adoration* by the Master of the Kindred, formerly in the Virnich collection in Bonn, tells us that the painter also borrowed the kneeling page who appears in a picture by the Ghent master. The relationship between the Cologne master and van der Goes may be pictured in the following way: Much in need of models, the Master of the Kindred owned a number of drawings which he used to enrich his

Adorations, especially. He may have accumulated this store by the work of his own hands, making copies throughout his years as an apprentice and journeyman—in the workshop of the Ghent master, for example—or he may have come into possession of his models in some other way, directly or indirectly.

Two *Adorations*—the better one in private hands in Karlsruhe, the weaker one
40 on sale in Paris (32 and 33, Plate 41)—are reminiscent of van der Goes in technique and the grouping of the figures, but they need not necessarily be regarded as copies. The upright picture with full-length figures in Karlsruhe is carefully elaborated, although somewhat awkwardly composed, with the ground quite steep. In some of its heads and postures, it displays an intelligent response to Hugo's stimulating influence. The rather coarse Paris picture—which is overcleaned, to boot—is in many features close to the picture with the half-length figures, of which we have copies in Bath and Madrid. The attitude of the infant Jesus, in particular, is the same in both.

Oft-repeated, even at a late date, is a composition certainly going back to Hugo van der Goes, a broad panel with a *Lamentation*, of which an apparently faithful copy is preserved in the museum at Naples (23, Plate 37). The body of Christ is shown athwart the picture, extended over almost its entire width and turned towards the front. This ostentatious turning of the body into an orientation parallel to the near-by back wall leaves a primitive impression. Within this shallow compass, all the figures are crowded forward, and the restricted field, which assembles the heads of the mourners in close propinquity, while their bodies are partly cut off by the frame, limits freedom of movement. Not even Christ's arm is lifted within the fortuitous and arbitrary picture limits, but is allowed to dangle, cut off halfway by the frame. The panel speaks to the congregation with unmistakable urgency, close up and naked, so to speak, and perhaps that is the reason why it was so often copied. Other hieratic features may have been responsible for this popularity. The four heads in the upper row are symmetrically arranged, the Virgin's and St. John's inclined towards each other in the middle, and on the right and left, in counterbalance, Mary Magdalene and a clean-shaven man. The airless sense of crowding has curbed the painter's imagination. The archaic and relieflike character may stem less from the master's desire than from the commission itself, which may have prescribed format, scale and number of figures. Even so, I am inclined to assign a comparatively early date to the lost original.

A fragment of this composition, the heads of St. John and the Virgin, on canvas, in Christ Church College, Oxford[5] (23c, Plate 37) has been erroneously regarded as a section from the original. Surely the original must have been a panel rather than a piece of canvas, for the best copies suggest the detailed sharpness van der Goes developed in panel-painting, but not in his work on canvas with its different technical requirements.

5. *Burlington Magazine*, August 1907.

When discussing the Berlin painting on canvas of the *Mourners at the Cross*, we mentioned a *Descent from the Cross* as a possible pendant, suggested by the unanimous testimony of two copies, in Altenburg and Florence (24, Plate 9; cf. p. 26, above). A copy of the complete diptych by Memlinc corroborates this association.

The master deeply pondered the theme of the Virgin's death, and clung to his basic concept, ensuring variety by changing postures and gestures. But again we

must add copies—pictures and drawings—to the originals, this time the single one, in Bruges. Van der Goes seems to have painted the Virgin's death at least once again, if not more often. We have three small panel paintings—in Berlin, Prague and London—that testify to another lost original (25, Plate 38). Those in Berlin and Prague resemble each other closely. They are murky, petty, insignificant paintings, but their evidence as to types and figure-grouping seems to be reliable. The panel in London, superior in execution, seems to be a free rendering and has been erroneously coupled with the name of the Master of Flémalle. It is rather different in coloration, warm and rich, with effective contrasts of light and dark. In the London picture, Christ with the angels hovers above the bed, a feature lacking in the Berlin and Prague copies. Further, in the London picture, one looks through a window upon a sharply illuminated marketplace.

A rather mediocre drawing in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett contains several figures from this composition[6] (Plate 23).

6. No. 780.

An upright painting, catalogued under the name of Abraham Benson[7], is actually a free copy from the first half of the 16th century.

7. Auctioned by Lepke, Berlin, on 25th April 1911, No. 87 (93×70). An escutcheon with a device containing the letters AB—VH was the basis for the attribution.

Compared with the Bruges panel, this one, known only from copies, is extended in width. The apostles, arrayed before and behind the bed—which is parallel to the picture surface—conduct themselves more calmly, and their relieflike grouping makes an old-fashioned impression.

A third representation of the Virgin's death, also evidently devised by the Ghent master and even more extended in width, is preserved in a fine drawing in the Brunswick Kupferstichkabinett[8] (Plate 23). We cannot conclude with certainty that it is based on a lost painting, for the Brunswick sheet may follow an original drawing. The main space is clearly developed, with a view into a secondary chamber. The bed stands along the horizontal axis of the picture. Like the panel in Bruges, this drawing is full of movement, with dramatic contrasts and bold gestures. It would appear to date from a relatively late period.

8. Prestel Publication No. 47.

A mediocre drawing from the 16th century in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett[9] testifies to the continuing after-effects of Hugo's efforts centred upon the Virgin's death (Plate 23).

9. No. 5, 524.

The master's version of the *Fall of Man*, seen in the one half of the diptych in the Vienna museum, also stimulated imitation. I know of three panels which, while in complete agreement with one another, show sharp and deliberate departures from the prototype, in terms of postures and attitudes (36, Plate 43). One is in the collection of Leopold Hirsch in London, another in that of Count Beissel von Gymnich at Frens castle, while the third is currently in the possession of a Munich art dealer. The spirit of the great master has been thoroughly expelled from these panels, with their mechanically dotted foliage, light on dark.

Preserved in the Museo Correr at Venice is a panel with the crucified Christ, St. John and the Virgin, conceived in the spirit of the Ghent master (30, Plate 41). It deserves particular attention, because, oddly enough, the climactic event in the tragedy of the Passion is lacking in Hugo's œuvre, pervaded as it is with inklings and reverberations of the Passion[10]. Symmetrically composed in a simple, ecclesiastical style, with columnlike figures set off, light or dark, against a mood-laden landscape background showing a bare, rocky hummock in the right middleground

10. A *Crucifixion* with lifesize figures, supposedly by Hugo van der Goes, was in the Church at Vosselaere near Ghent until 1575 (Destrée, p. 155).

and a deep plain under a lowering sky on the left, this work, bearing the marks of a single style, points to a worthy and understanding follower of Hugo van der Goes.

Hieratic icons with the pain-contorted visage of Jesus, such as we know to have issued in large number from the workshops in Louvain[11], were in demand at Ghent as well. At least two bust-length versions of a *Christ Crowned with Thorns* known to me show the wide-open eyes, beset on every side in visionary transfiguration, that are characteristic of van der Goes (35, Plate 42). One of these pictures, on sale in London, is close to the master, while the other, showing Christ's hands along the lower margin, is manifestly a replica of crude workmanship. The impression is one of tragedy rather than mere suffering. By comparison, the icons from the Boutsian circle, while outwardly similar, seem more long-suffering, with the signs of physical injury emphasized.

11. Cf. Vol. III, No. 63.

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The art of the Ghent master seems to have had little effect in the area of Madonna painting, which was being carefully cultivated about 1480, especially under the aegis of the Bruges school, the physical types created by Rogier retaining their hold for a very long time. We encounter few Madonnas at half-length that point back to Hugo van der Goes. By invention at least a work of the Ghent master is a Madonna panel that was once in the Hainauer collection but is now with Baron Herzog in Budapest (29, Plate 40). A number of features give eloquent testimony—the type of the Madonna, the form of the hands, the curled hands of the child and his parted lips, as he awakes in helplessness, kicking and squirming rather imperiously under the hands of his loving mother. A little coarse and uncouth in execution, the panel may be questioned as a work of the master's own hand. A late repetition of this composition, by the hand of a recognizable follower of Joos van Cleve, is in the Jacques Rosenthal collection in Munich (29a).

The Madonna panel lately hanging in the National Gallery in London under the name of van der Goes, followed by a question mark, resists satisfactory attribution (27, Plate 39). The composition deserves to be called 'classic.' The child, well-mannered and natural, is comfortably seated upon his mother's arm within the tight picture area. Her inclined head, half-turned to one side and slightly overlapped by the bright child's head, resembles the Virgin's head in the Portinari altarpiece. The execution leaves nothing to be desired in terms of finesse and in no way resembles the work of a copyist. Now that it has become clear that Gerard David was crucially stimulated by van der Goes, I venture the conjecture that this Bruges master did the work, with the help of the Ghent master.

A statuesque Madonna, painted on canvas during the 16th century and a recent accession of the Ghent museum, appears to go back to one of Hugo's works (28, Plate 40). The postures, at least, are worthy of him, and the hands—less so the types of the heads—are reminiscent of his formal idiom.

In the collection of W. Samuel in London is a panel nowhere mentioned in the literature, which has come to light a few years ago from the still unfathomed depths of English private collections (31, Plate 41). Its claim to admission is contestable, although not for lack of merit. Pure and lucid in style, impeccably preserved and executed with consummate mastery, it remains problematical. It is certainly not a copy, and if it is not a work by van der Goes, it is by a distinguished follower of whom no other trace is discernible. One-half of a diptych, rounded at the top and

quite able to stand on its own, it shows the Emperor Augustus with the sibyl. The missing pendant must be assumed to have been a Madonna panel. As a represention of the scene in question, it is unexampled. It is treated entirely in the manner of a donor's wing, the emperor, in an attitude of prayer, half-turned towards the left side, while the sibyl takes the place of the patron saint. Both are at half-length, crowded into the frame before a low wall, behind which stretches a wide palace courtyard, bordered on one side and at the far end by buildings. The nobly shaped heads, the expression of dignity, the sibyl's brocade gown, her jewellery set with precious stones, her inscribed identification in the headband—all these bespeak Hugo's manner and taste. The sibyl's hands are eloquent, gesturing with conviction. Yet a residue of doubt remains. Such serenity is nowhere else discernible. The shape of the emperor's hands is reminiscent of the Monforte picture, but in comparison with that panel, the absence of chiaroscuro is noteworthy, the even and lucid clarity.

A triptych in the private apartments at Buckingham Palace is disconcerting in its combination of paradoxical qualities (39, Plate 46). Modest in dimensions, it carefully and soberly piles figure upon figure in a grandiose composition completely without parallel and certainly not the invention of its niggling painter. It is without a doubt a copy, with great probability after van der Goes who is the only one capable of having marshalled such a wealth of postures and attitudes. Many of the heads are recognizably his, smoothed and prettified in the copying. In the centre panel, Jesus and the Almighty are seated upon a late Gothic throne, done in curious metalwork. They hold a crown over the head of the Virgin, who kneels on a cloud lower down. Rising in half-length from near the frame, between cloud layers, is an assemblage of secular and clerical personages, spilling over into the wings and including emperors, kings and princes as members of the holy congregation. Up above, in the shutters, are saints, female and male, including popes, bishops and abbots. On the outsides of the shutters is an *Annunciation* with full-length figures. This apotheosis deserves note as the pale shadow of the richest composition by van der Goes of which we have knowledge.

This master works in a fussy style, in the spirit of miniature painting, and we catch him more than once copying van der Goes. He is the painter who did the small *Annunciation* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (42, Plate 47), a *Holy Family* in Antwerp (40, Plate 47), and a Virgin with Four Female Saints in the Benziger collection at Solothurn (38, Plate 45). Conceivably, he may have painted the *Coronation of the Virgin*. Unless I am mistaken, he also painted the much-discussed diptych in the Antwerp museum, a donation by Chrétien de Hondt, and a work that tells us something about the painter's time and place (37, Plate 44). It bears the inscribed date, 1499[12]. From the location of the Abbaye des Dunes, over which de Hondt presided from 1496 to 1509, we may infer that Bruges was the scene of this painter's work. We call him the Bruges Master of 1499. The left shutter of the Antwerp diptych is a rather faithful copy of the *Virgin in the Church* in Berlin, a work by Jan van Eyck, which presumably hung in Bruges, or of which imitations, at least, were accessible there.

Comparing this copy with the well-known original enables us to judge the imitator's idiosyncrasies. We see his diffident pedantry, and his changes and additions acquaint us with his personal tastes. A large metal vessel with flowers is arbitrarily

12. The date appears on the outside of the left shutter, below the figure of the Saviour. The donor figure of the younger abbot, Robert Leclercq (1519–1557), on the back of the right shutter, was added at a later date.

inserted at the margin to the extreme fore, in location and execution like the vessel with the lily stems in the Berlin *Annunciation*. This painter finds the courage to pursue his own ways almost exclusively in matters of ornament and still life decoration. Craftsman that he is, he monotonously adds rows of precious stones to the garments and the throne structure, like a jeweller or embroiderer. The spindly metal con-
44 struction in the Solothurn panel is a capricious confection, technically impossible; and like the similar throne in the London triptych, probably in essence his own invention, while the group of the Virgin's holy companions is undoubtedly borrowed. This composition is encountered in many variations—in book illumination, and in panel paintings at Bruges. In all likelihood, the painter here too followed van der Goes, whose manner remains discernible in the lines of the drapery and the types of the heads.

Lastly, I ascribe to the Bruges Master of 1499 an inferior Madonna panel in the Louvre, which has achieved a certain notoriety, on account of one of those letter ciphers that can cause so much mischief—it has, in fact, been attributed to Jean Perréal (41, Plate 47). The donor portraits, particularly, are weak. They are undoubtedly the painter's own work, while he took over the figure of the Virgin from someone else, as was his wont. His propensity for ornament is again manifested in the decoration of the metallic throne. The child in his liveliness harks back to van der Goes. The face of the Virgin may have been prettified by some restorer. As for the letters J P, they refer, of course, to the donor rather than the painter. This painting too features a sumptuous flower vase, close to the edge and in front.

F. Winkler has identified this master in some of his works, but attributes to him the broad panel of *The Holy Kindred* in Ghent, surely with little validity[13] (Plate 105).

A worthy follower of Hugo van der Goes rather than a copyist or slavish imitator takes on tangible personality in two *Adorations*, which are preserved at a great distance, one from the other—in Kiev (43, Plate 48), and in the Chaix d'Est-Ange collection in Paris (45, Plate 49). The diptych in the Khanenko collection in Kiev, both of its sides rounded at the top, was exhibited in St. Petersburg in 1908, while the triptych in France is known to me only from a reproduction in the magazine *Les Arts* (1907). The heads are large in proportion to the picture areas, well-shaped and graceful, the plump hands richly animated in grasping and holding. The bodies emerge to chest depth and are cut off at the sides. In compositional approach, types and formal idiom, the example of the Ghent master is dominant, but this does not keep the amiable master from imposing a certain softening and rounding of form, in a taste of his own that accords with the generation that followed upon Hugo's.

This painter, whom I have called the Master of the Khanenko Adoration, is the author of a Madonna in the Stuttgart museum, which shows the Virgin in full length, seated before a low wall (46, Plate 48). The similarity of types convinces us that he is identical with the painter of the French triptych. Behind the low masonry baluster stretches a bright landscape with buildings, trees and small figures. Steep hills rise in the far distance. The landscape background in the triptych is similarly arranged.

With something less than complete assurance, I ascribe to this same master a half-length Madonna, painted against a dotted gold ground, which used to be in the Gotisches Haus in Wörlitz and is now probably in the castle at Dessau (44,

13. *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 37, 1915/16, col. 69 ff.

Plate 48). The Virgin's face, with its soft and rather large mouth and framed a little harshly by dark hair, is turned in a way that is characteristic of this painter, creating an asymmetrical oval at an interesting angle. Possibly the *Madonna in the Apse*, usually attributed to the Master of Flémalle[14], was copied in the workshop of this master. Some replicas, especially the one in the Albert Bossy collection, for example (Plate 40) 171, show a wide, disclike Virgin's face, with an irregular contour, that is reminiscent of this master's style.

14. Cf. Vol. II, No. 74.

By far the greatest master to be deeply influenced by Hugo van der Goes was a Frenchman—or, at least, one who must be regarded as such, on account of the scene of his work—namely, the Master of Moulins. Between the years 1480 and 1500, he was the favourite painter of the Bourbons, exceeding all others of his generation in taste and sense of beauty. Hulin has identified him as Jean Perréal, adducing arguments that are hard to refute. He showed that the Master of Moulins was in touch with patrons who, according to surviving documents, were connected with Jean Perréal[15].

15. *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition, pp. xlviii ff.

This artist owes his resurrection to critical endeavours of the last few decades. One of his works, a *St. Victor* in the Glasgow museum, created a sensation at loan exhibitions in London. Shown among other early Netherlandish pictures, it drew all eyes, because of its exotic glamour. No name seemed to be too great to fit it, and it was honoured with a number of erroneous attributions. Such names as van Eyck and Memlinc were mentioned. Scheibler thought van der Goes painted it; and this judgment, like all his pronouncements, serves only to confirm the unerring eye of his creative criticism, valuable even when in error. Scheibler had already claimed for van der Goes another work by the Master of Moulins, the *Cardinal de Bourbon* in Munich, hence he was quite consistent. To our eyes, the Frenchman, with his stately and contained style, is sharply differentiated from the Ghent master, with his sense of dramatic tension. His ingratiating local coloration and lucid diurnal serenity contrast with the Netherlander's chiaroscuro. Yet the confusion is far from inexcusable. The Frenchman's formal idiom, taking on a special character in the air of the Southern court, is rooted in Netherlandish training. At least, there is no better explanation for the striking resemblance between two natures so remote from each other by race and temperament. We may conjecture that Jean Perréal—if he is indeed identical with the Master of Moulins—studied in Ghent just prior to 1480 and was deeply influenced by Hugo van der Goes, and that about 1485 he commenced his work for the Bourbons in Lyons and other French towns.

In respect of panel painting, the impact of van der Goes is far better studied in Bruges than in Ghent, where the assaults of the iconoclasts wrought such havoc, and where there is an almost complete lack of surviving works that might document the local output *in situ*. The few panels in the Ghent museum that are regarded as surviving local products on more or less flimsy evidence tell us very little in their wretched insignificance[16].

16. This is especially true of the two paintings with *The Holy Kindred* (S. 106 and 1,906B, in the catalogue of the Ghent museum) (Plate 105).

The study of book illumination would seem to offer a favorable prospect. A store of richly decorated codices shows us that this art form was flourishing between 1480 and 1530, nor can it be doubted that Ghent had a large share in these achievements. Hugo van der Goes himself has been regarded as the author of certain book illuminations. Destrée reports with proper scepticism on attempted attributions,

some of which are quite naïve[17]. We find motives reminiscent of the master in the miniatures at almost every step, although translated almost invariably into the idiom of Gerard David. In the degree that the identities of the more important Flemish illuminators have begun to emerge, the researches of Durrieu[18], Winkler[19] and Destrée[20] have borne fruit. Yet they have had virtually no success in getting

the names known from documents to coincide with the painter personalities recreated by stylistic analysis. All the signs speak for Gent and Bruges—the road seeming to lead from Ghent to Bruges rather than the other way round. Much effort has been expended upon the Ghent family of Bening. Alexander Bening entered the guild at Ghent in 1469, at the time of Joos van Gent and Hugo van der Goes, and he died in Ghent in 1519. His sons Simon and Paul were likewise miniature painters of large output. Alexander as well as Simon moved on to Bruges, where the father achieved full master's status in 1486, the son (who died there only in 1561) in 1508. Among the personalities whom stylistic analysis has defined, of special interest to us, in connection with Hugo van der Goes, is the master who, about 1480, created a prayer book for Mary of Burgundy—Winkler calls him the 'Master of Mary of Burgundy.'

17. P. 139 ff.

18. *La Miniature Flamande...*, Brussels, van Oest, 1921.

19. *Die Vlämische Buchmalerei...*, Leipzig, 1925.

20. *Les Heures de Notre Dames Dites de Henessy...*, Brussels, 1923.

Alexander Bening, with his sons Paul and Simon, made up a dynasty of book illuminators responsible for a sustained and successful output in Ghent and Bruges for two generations, from 1469 to 1530. Simon, especially, enjoyed great renown, judging from all the sources. Alexander, contemporary with Hugo van der Goes, was married to Catherina van der Goes and thus apparently the great master's kinsman. Indeed, Hugo was his sponsor, when Alexander was admitted to the painters' guild. These interrelationships form a system of co-ordinates in time and place, according with a similar system thrown up by stylistic analysis of the various codices. A tenacious clinging to established motives, a slow transformation in formal idiom, a kind of clan spirit sustained for half a century, a drift from Ghent to Bruges, a transition from Hugo van der Goes to Gerard David—all these characteristics are discernible in the series of books that were created for exalted personages, reaching from the prayer book of Mary of Burgundy to the Grimani Codex and beyond. The Adoration of the Magi, in particular, is ever and again repeated on the model of the Ghent master.

The initiator and progenitor of this precious and graceful art is Alexander Bening, and we are tempted to identify him with the Master of Mary of Burgundy, in whose style the spirit of Ghent with its fresh originality emerges most clearly. This illuminator—whether he be Alexander Bening or another—fed and grew upon the great exemplar of Master Hugo, however great the assurance and refined taste with which he maintained the stylistic limitations of his own art form.

There is a group of drawings that are associated with van der Goes in some manner not entirely clear. In all likelihood, they are the work of a relatively autonomous follower. The following sheets fall into a pattern:

A. Kneeling woman in rich attire, Morgan Library, New York (Plate 103) (F. Murray collection, catalogue No. 227).

a. A faithful copy of the above, signed B-S, Turin library 181.

B. St. Mary Magdalene, standing, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Plate 103), from the R. Kann collection, Paris, No. 162 in the catalogue of that collection. A figure

corresponding with this drawing was used (presumably copied) by the Bruges Master of the Legend of St. Ursula in his triptych in the episcopal collection at Chur 191.

c. A female saint, standing, collection of Sir Edward Poynter, London (Plate 103) 1101, Vasari Society Publication v, No. 17.

d. Adoration of the Magi, Bremen, Kunsthalle (Plate 103) 1111, Prestel Society Publication III, No. 11.

Sheet c is of the highest quality and probably an original, while the others are a little weaker and perhaps copies. In type, the massive and statuesque figures are reminiscent of van der Goes, especially the Monforte panel. The Bremen Adoration is closely linked with several versions of this theme that have already come to our notice.

Efforts to show that the Ghent master was a designer of tapestries seem to me to have failed[21], although there was a particularly significant and productive creator of cartoons, active in Brussels about 1500, whose types were influenced by Hugo. Tapestry weaving, by the way, seems to have been relatively little cultivated in Ghent.

21. Destrée, pp. 150 ff.

The loose and somewhat confused fabric of this chapter leaves us with supplementary ideas in respect of the Ghent master's creative powers. We get an inkling of works that have been lost. We sense how the master was misunderstood. We venerate his qualities even in the distorting mirror of imitation. We grope about in the fog of the Ghent school and discern how pictorial ideas drifted away to Bruges where, in milder and sentimentalized form, they pleased a new generation.

The Character and Style of Hugo van der Goes

48 Van der Goes, Grünewald and Michelangelo—three artists of melancholic temperament. Aside from the works that testify to the sombre mood of their authors, there is no dearth of confirmatory evidence to show that in these men blackness of soul transcended the normal limits of a healthy mind. In the case of Michelangelo, we have a wealth of letters, verses, contemporary judgments. The psychogram of his creative images must be read in the light of his tormented career, which is known in much detail, the illness must be described in terms of its genesis and repercussions. In the case of Grünewald, the surviving œuvre is illuminated by some passages in the report of Sandrart who got his scraps of knowledge from Uffenbach, and indirectly from Grimmer. Derivative and faltering as this tradition is, there lives on in it the memory of a 'queer' master, *der ein eingezogenes melancholisches Leben geführt und übel verheuratet gewesen.*

But in respect of Hugo van der Goes, a fortunate chance has preserved for us a detailed case history from the pen of a contemporary and immediate observer. Ofhuys, entering the monastery in 1475 with van der Goes, spreads himself with a moralizing, pastoral tone, considers the case dispassionately, self-righteously, piously, superstitiously—but also with a medical acumen astonishing for his time. We owe to his pedantic zeal insight into the painter's inner life that greatly aids our understanding of his art.

We encounter his personality in all its weakness and need. The psychologist within us is tempted to engage in sweeping speculations. How explain the sudden break in the painter's life line? Why did he abandon his natural and wonted situation, exchange civil for monastic life? Ofhuys says not a word on this subject. Van der Goes must have maintained an aloof silence with his inquisitive and observant companion, keeping his reasons dark. He was 35 years old in 1475, possibly 40. He had been a master in Ghent since 1467 and had swiftly risen to a position of eminence. In an economic sense, he had almost certainly achieved success. He had just finished a voluminous altarpiece for his wealthy Florentine patron. He was accounted the finest painter in Ghent and Bruges. Surely Tommaso Portinari must have sensed that in all the Netherlands only this painter was equal to the monumental expectations that were harboured in Italy. What prevailed upon the successful master to relinquish his career at its prime? The choice of the cloth as a vocation might seem plausible—from growing devoutness, from a deep conflict of conscience, from fear of salvation withheld—but van der Goes remained a painter. He surrendered the practice of his craft in civil life, but not his art. He put burdens and prejudices behind him, renounced the economic exploitation of his trade, but he continued the work that was natural to his genius. Whatever the religious motivations may have been, his flight from the world was probably prompted by diffidence, surfeit and the psychological quirks which we are tempted to associate with the illness that erupted later. As early as 1475, van der Goes was predisposed to morbid depression, if not already frankly psychotic. Any specific, unknown in-

cidents are likely to have triggered off the illness rather than to have been its cause. Perhaps he too was 'ill-wed,' like Grünewald, perhaps he was running away from his wife. In any event, the ultimate cause must have been a constitution burdened with hypersensitivity. There were no mental hospitals then, and the painter sought refuge in a home of salvation as a place of healing.

One may reject any causal connection between genius and mental illness, but one can scarcely avoid the conclusion that an acrobat runs greater risks of breaking his neck than ordinary people, even though his bones are no more fragile. If genius tends to drift in the direction of mental illness, it is because genius takes creative risks, accepts the ventures of the mind. It is all very well to look upon the painter's creative powers and his illness as two entirely different things, flowing from different sources. Yet both were at work within the same organism, where they must have mutually affected each other. The very fact that the master's state of mind determined his career means that it must have influenced his art. His creative imagination was focussed upon objects of religious devotion, his devoutness grew to despair, his piety became distorted into persecution mania. The godhead he had to project as a painter became the judge of doom whose verdict he often feared. The Nativity, the Adoration, the Deposition—all these were scenes in the drama on which depended salvation, whose mysteries his tormented spirit sought to pierce. His fellow monks commended the road to the Saviour to him as the sole means of salvation. His theology could turn to deepest black, and at times the divine image hung over him like menacing torment. Yet again, in abrupt alternation of mood, he could welcome it as a reassuring and liberating refuge. Never, never was he on familiar terms with religion, never was it a peaceful matter, to be regarded with equanimity. His sense of awe could turn to enthusiasm, never to phlegmatic acceptance. Intemperate and eccentric—such was his state of mind at all times and in all circumstances.

His emotional approach remained reasonably constant—the feelings that animate his creatures—the feelings that speak from their eyes, their mien, their gestures. Among his surviving works there must be some that were done in Ghent and others that were done in the monastery, yet we can discern no sharp break, no radical change. The one unmistakable, common characteristic of all his works is a deep personal note, sounding directly from his soul. By the trustworthy evidence of his pictures, his morbid melancholia was innate, even though on only one occasion, about 1480, did it burst out disastrously, for the eyes of his contemporaries to see.

The expression of ecstasy, of brooding sorrow—van der Goes depicted it from his own innermost experience, as he approached the sombre portals of insanity. His power to objectify these experiences would have been expunged, had he passed these dark gates—indeed, perhaps it was extinguished when he entered. One who is himself obsessed cannot portray obsession.

A painter, in the 15th century, was a working man, carrying out commissions with more skill or less, adapting himself to the desires of the community, receiving emoluments as decreed by custom. His attitude of mind towards his work was not much different from that of a carpenter or baker. True, the crisis already impended that was to mark the intellectual, social and economic decline of the guild system. The 'artist' was beginning to emerge from the toils of the craft to vulnerable free-

dom. Immediately, he found occasional refuge as the lackey of princes, amidst jesters and mistresses. The telltale sign of this new profession—the profession of artist—was individual renown, the aureole surrounding his person. The virtues compatible with the guild system were virtues anyone could acquire—hard work, honest craftsmanship. They did not include genius, the kind of extraordinary
50 skill that sets its owner apart, exalts him, marks him as someone special. It was fame that burst the confines of craft society. A master who grew aware of his superiority, who perceived the difference between his work and that of his colleagues as a gulf that could not be bridged, became an enemy of society, felt like an intruder in the community.

Fame came swiftly to van der Goes when he was still young, and he towered far above all his fellows. His reputation travelled beyond the walls of the town. He was summoned to Bruges, to Louvain, to Brussels. For a time, his fellow townsmen tolerated this excess of merit, indeed, in 1474 they made him dean of the guild. Perhaps they would have continued to suppress their envy and resentment; but he, with his keen eye for the evil peculiar to his person, sensed sooner than they how untenable his situation was, although unable to account to himself for the reasons for his unease. He felt a rift between himself and his fellows, whom he could no longer regard as such. In keeping with a temperament inclined to the extreme in its decisions, he sought freedom inside monastery walls, loneliness among strangers, preferred clerical constraint to the townsman's code. He fled as far away from the life that had given him suffering as he could and still remain alive. We do not really know what made that old life so hard for him, but we do know his irritable temper that found every compulsion, every relationship, every duty intolerable. By radically changing his situation, he extricated himself from whatever his involvements may have been, evaded the blandishments of worldly life, withdrew from the crippling, meretricious workshop routine. Perhaps he imagined he was setting his artistry free, only to learn soon enough that while envy and incomprehension beset art in the outside world, there were other constraints, equally powerful, at work behind the monastery walls. However that may have been, he did not find the peace for which he yearned, at least not in the long run.

The conflicts that marked his career, that gave dramatic tension and a tragic note to his art, were embedded in his soul and his character. Pride, ambition, the joy of creating were at war with his religious qualms, his need to humble himself. His visions, his spiritual experiences were at odds with pictorial tradition. The art that was born of these inner struggles attained grandeur and pathos. It was spiritualized and permeated with action, rich in contrasts and full of meaning. Its innocence was gone forever. Again and again the restless master made a fresh start, uncovered new aspects of his themes, the revolutionary originality of his invention stemming from a zealous mind that could never find contentment. Van der Goes struggled with the menace and the joy of the mysteries which Christian doctrine offered as the answer to all metaphysical questions. He was a stranger in Ghent, a stranger in the monastery, a stranger in his age. Striding forward in solitude, he lost his way. No wonder we associate him with Grünewald and Michelangelo—two who came later than he. Had he lived in the early part of the 16th century, a spirit such as his would have become the hero or the victim of complex religious struggles. What

in him took the form of inner conflict would have erupted as attack, challenge, protest. He was out of step with his time, and this is reflected in the precocity of his art.

From his inner life, van der Goes deepened devotional painting as such, humanized and expanded it, enriching the expression of religious worship along three lines—his gaze of visionary ecstasy, the proud sublimity of his witnesses of the faith, the naïve and artless demeanour of his poor and his meek. Many of his creatures share the prophet's mien. Alienated from everyday concerns, their eyes are wide open to behold spirits, spectres or gods, and the practice of vision has strained their countenances, spiritualized and ennobled them. Their shining eyes reflect lofty things, above human experience.

The dignity of sainthood, of adoring kings, is manifested in physical stature, in large and nobly proportioned bodies, in self-assured bearing. The stunted Nordic body that is a general mark of Netherlandish art in the 15th century gives way before our eyes to an expansive, room-filling solidity. No tame duffers, these saints, but warriors of the faith, tested in doubt and error and sin, and in inner struggle, each for himself, in tragic loneliness, incapable of communication, lost and aloof from banal communion. Their spiritual stature honours the godhead before which they bow, nonetheless. The holy women, in their stern and acerb grace, are chaste, inviolate and unapproachable almost to the limits of arrogance.

Unwonted guests in the ecclesiastical drama are the shepherds, representatives of the common man. Deeply concerned with social stratification, yet kind and just to the underprivileged, the painter contrasts the 'third estate' with the Holy Family, with angels, donors, princes of the church, putting to the fore the poor, the working people, whom he allows to burst upon the solemn tranquillity with the kind of worship peculiar to them, like children giving way to overweening surprise when gifts are showered upon them. In physical type, they have clearly risen from the depths. They are uncouth, marked by hard work, clothed in nondescript garb. They smile with bliss at the child's birth, and like Russian peasants they hunger for miracles. Meek in spirit, they wish to become possessed. This naïve turmoil and veneration, by their contrast, serve to enhance and give new meaning to the hieratic serenity depicted. The initiate, spiritually mature and close to the throne, share in the mystery with rigid immobility, while the meek and the poor are overwhelmed by it, greet it with fumbling jubilation.

This is no faith pervaded solely by tradition, no unquestioning acceptance of orthodoxy, no unswerving allegiance to doctrine. It is rather a message of salvation, born of scruple and conflict, achieved in defiant struggle, clung to for dear life. Among Hugo's creations to impress themselves most deeply are the disciples of Christ, saints converted to the faith, repentant sinners who have purged themselves, self-accusatory Magdalenes, princes bowing their proud heads, wise men humbling themselves.

This more profound and contradictory inner life gave rise to new pictorial forms, enlarged the figure scale. Since the formats were prescribed, while the master, within these dimensions, sought to stress, indeed, give life size to heads and hands as the carriers of expression, he inevitably arrived at the half-length figure. He preferred—and, indeed, may have been the first—to depict the Adoration, the Nativity,

the Deposition at half-length, achieving an undreamed-of immediacy, a compelling power within a comparatively narrow space. Van der Goes had a predilection for the square format. His disproportionately large heads, bodies and hands speak up loudly, articulate sharply and urgently, in this process of concentrating upon the essential inner quality. True, we have some of these half-length pictures only in
52 copies. The figures are crowded, cheek by jowl, pressed by force into a frame they sometimes threaten to burst asunder. Their faces and hands are merely the thin-walled vessels of expression. Their fortuitous realism is sometimes enhanced by the frame overcutting them below or from the side. They loom into the picture hungrily, they are barely visible—visible only because they move, because they come on. The frame is not at the point where the composition has its natural termination. It breaks in, abruptly interrupts the pictorial continuum. The finite picture is shown as part of a natural whole that is infinite.

To make room for the people, all else is pushed aside, given lesser importance—space, architecture, landscape. In the master's imagination everything is alive—atmosphere, locale—but they are not fully developed within the given opening. In order to favour the psychological statement, sometimes more and sometimes less, preference is given to figures in throng, to filling the space, to narrowing the compass.

I have no doubt that van der Goes arrived at the half-length figure only in the course of his development. When one surveys the pictorial types as a whole that were passed on and modified in the Netherlands, one comes to appreciate that the figure at half-length is almost always a later type than the full-length figure. Indeed, in most cases compositions with half-length figures are no more than copies of sections of traditional groups in full-length. Jan van Eyck on every occasion delimited a natural entity as the domain of his pictures. The Madonna at half-length began to appear in Rogier's studio—and the portrait must be exempted in any event, for it virtually demands bust-length by its very nature. The half-length pictures that were popular in the second half of the 15th century share the individual realism of the portrait; and the coupling of a donor portrait with a Madonna or some other religious theme—in diptych or triptych form—fostered the development of half-length composition.

Hugo's people are on the lean side rather than plump. Temperament, concentration, asceticism have kept the thriving flesh within bounds. Only a meagre covering upholsters the skeleton, the organic bone structure, the muscles and sinews—and the soul seeking to burst out. It is not merely that wrinkles and furrows have left the traces of life engraved upon the character heads of the older men, the 'beautiful' women too share this leanness, this severe moulding. In every situation they are marked by a sense of sovereignty and spirituality, carefully shaded to their person. Theirs is a boyish, gawky grace, sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought. Their chalky white complexion knows not the flush of life. A deliberate effort at hermaphroditism is discernible in the angels of the Portinari altarpiece.

A whole book might be written on the way van der Goes draws hands, and here his mastery borders on virtuosity. His eloquent hands, surcharged with feeling, manifest in turn desire, yearning, frenzy, surrender, despair. Each finger seems to have a will of its own, and their bending and tensing and branching serve to dis-

charge emotion. On occasion, a hand is over large, as though there had been not enough room to hold the wealth of formal detail observed. The fingers grow like stems from the palms, and their roots can be traced deeply and visibly.

Hugo's line is full of movement, at least to my mind, and a number of elements combine to create this impression. His form too may be called active, in more than one sense. There can be no doubt that, dramatist that he was, he deliberately and successfully strove for the illusion of figures coming and going, of reaching arms, of angels in flight, for his feverish vision must have conjured up scenes that were forever growing, changing, alternating. Their inner turmoil wracks and bends these bodies, extends their centrifugal limbs, letting hands reach out into the air or clasp one another. Contour, interior line, surfaces in light or shade—these are the elements in terms of which the master observes the subtle and complex phenomenology of bodies moving in space; and on every side he finds foreshortenings, obscurations, overlappings that allow him, proud of his sharp eye, to indulge in the startling constellations to which limbs lend themselves, whether arrayed in depth or opposition. His forms are deeply moulded and subdivided, turned and cantilevered, offering aspects never seen before. Exciting to behold, they tempt the aroused viewer forever to change his vantage-point.

It is not so much by perspective, foreshortening of figures and gradations in scale, however, that the illusion of space and depth is created, but by the very activity of the characters, the urgency with which they move, creating and staking out room for themselves by their vitality. In the centre panel of the Portinari altarpiece, the stage, so to speak, is inconceivable [121] without the figures. The Virgin's death room in the Bruges picture, like the stable in the Berlin *Nativity*, are of themselves—i.e. without their human content—makeshift constructions without real existence, serving to fill in rather than truly enclose the background.

Van der Goes is a painter rather than a sculptor. His imagination, creating people, air and space at one stroke, never loses sight of the natural context. The air thickens and darkens over wide areas, shadows glide over the bodies. In the Portinari altarpiece, the Monforte panel and the triptych in the Liechtenstein gallery, chiaroscuro is used to organize the composition in broad outline, but this device is at odds with an almost obsessive concern for the inner man. There may be a resemblance here to Rembrandt's career. He too, in his younger years, was properly preoccupied with shaping his space, but in time he grew more and more indifferent to this aspect and his interest in the locale flagged.

Van der Goes looked at the countryside with deep understanding, but he assigned only a modest place to landscape in his work. Masonry and masses of figures usually obstruct the view. The Garden of Eden in the Vienna panel forms part of the theme and is depicted in great detail. The scene stretches far in the Ghent mural, undoubtedly done before 1475—the *David and Abigail*. For the rest, as far as we can see, there are only occasional narrow openings, a bit of transparent sky, a few houses and trees in the bright distance. No such sweeping, lingering geographical documentation is devoted to the landscape formations as the joyous and elegiac poetry of nature with which Jan van Eyck and Dieric Bouts invested their devotional paintings. Yet, however little is explicitly shown and uncovered of the infinite aerial space, the supporting earth, the visible data of nature, it is enough to recreate

the whole in the mind of the beholder. Not everything is visible, but it works its spell all the same, and every picture is defined in time and place. Whatever is happening takes place somewhere on this earth, at a given time of the year or day. The consistent lighting, especially, implies the local context. The partial disclosure of depth becomes all the more effective, creating a powerful mood, carrying a spacious
54 pathos, conveying a sense of yearning for infinity. Able to place his objects in form and colour with all the means of the painter, the master is also able to do without a complete and detailed presentation of the spatial context.

One really ought to judge Hugo's brushwork only by those originals that have come down to us in good condition. Quite apart from the fact that it is, of course, adapted to the format, it shows a gradual unfolding of power, a moving away from fussy miniature art with its even, firm coat of enamel. Hugo's brushwork also nimbly follows whatever theme is being represented. It distinguishes the distant from the near. Easily sliding over wide areas, it finds appropriate means of expression for the full burgeoning of life, the richness of velvet and the shimmer of silk, the polish of metal, the harsh texture of friable rock, the smooth passage of translucent shadows, the poignancy of highlights, the silvery lustre or tan of human skin. Whatever the period at which the Monforte panel was done, it represents as far as we can see, the acme of Hugo's free and self-assured brushwork, the free flow of which has here completely engulfed his analytical line.

Like El Greco and Jan Vermeer of Delft, Hugo van der Goes is fond of cool tints. Blues and whites predominate and are usually focal. Dieric Bouts, on the other hand, favoured warm and sombre hues. One is tempted to imagine a kind of reaction, the protest of an autonomous master, tired of convention. One can even imagine that the Ghent master, looking at things outdoors and at a distance, felt the traditional colour scale to be unnatural, that a sense of veracity drove him to the other scale; but in the last analysis, choice of colour is an intensely individual matter, constant and inexplicable.

The sublime and divine, particularly, assume the colours of distance, pure, bright blues and greys, which serve to lighten and transfigure the whites. Blue is the colour of distinction, the colour that marks ascension to heaven. By contrast, the things of this world—usually pushed to one side and treated as framework, are warmer in coloration, held in reds and greens, and even in broken tints of dim blends.

Sheer physical size is conspicuous when one first encounters certain Netherlandish panel paintings, and one is tempted to pronounce them as being 'too large'—this is true of some of the works of Dieric Bouts, Memlinc and Gerard David. In this sense, no work by Hugo van der Goes is large. Some of his pictures, however, may leave an impression of being too small. Yet when one calls them to mind, they seem to grow. The Ghent master is the only Netherlander of the 15th century to reach for full lifesize scale with impunity, to whom the wide frame came naturally, almost as a matter of course.

Every format, every scale demands a certain measure of formal knowledge. By and large, the Netherlanders offer much formal content in proportion to format forcing the close view into a small scale, while the Italians, conversely, put the long view into large scale.

Hugo van der Goes proceeded from a tradition rooted in book illumination;

but more than any of his fellow countrymen and contemporaries he overcame the discrepancy between the traditional visual approach and the demand for monumentality inherent in the painting of altarpieces.

On occasion, all early Netherlandish painters were faced with the challenge to create panels of large dimension; and their forms, over rich in small format, become empty and arid as soon as they approach lifesize. Their finest achievements lie in gathered density and concentration. Their greatest power unfolds in smallest compass.

Format always fixes the beholder's viewpoint, as it does the painter's, not merely in space, but in mind as well. In the long run, true monumentality proclaims the author's grandeur of soul, his depth of feeling, as well as a knowledge of form that proves itself equal to the scale of life.

A comparative glance at Memlinc's œuvre is instructive. The Bruges master painted portraits approaching lifesize, directly or indirectly from life, and they are substantial and satisfying enough. Yet in his creation of types he fails. His imagination lags behind, as soon as an intermediate scale is transcended. His tranquil, contemplative and devout soul never soared upwards on wings, resisting both dramatic tension and monumentality. Thus it was only in the portrait proper that he was able to capture the abundant formal detail of individuality. The storm-tossed soul of the Ghent master, on the other hand, was so rich in visions that his types are in no way behind his portraits. An even grandeur pervades all his work.

The Art of Brussels in the Time from 1470–1500

56 We have characterized and celebrated Hugo van der Goes as the source of all those impulses to which Netherlandish art about 1480 owed its renewal; but now we must turn backwards, so to speak. I cannot evade an obligation to assemble the surviving works with a view to completeness, to arrange them by time and place. Our goal of giving a connected picture of the output of every Netherlandish school may seem unattainably remote, but we must keep it in sight.

The genius in Ghent may have overcome tradition on his own and as far as his influence reached, but elsewhere and otherwise the Rogierian creed long remained in force. In terms of time alone, we shall not be regressing, if we now consider works that were created in Flemish workshops until about the end of the 15th century, untouched by the new spirit.

Only in Bruges are there still enough specimens in their original location for something like history to be written. There we shall be able to observe the influx of tradition from Brussels, Ghent and Holland, and to watch the rise of a local style from these elements.

As far as Ghent is concerned, we have no choice but to forego such a process, for want of surviving material, and to content ourselves with the vague notion that imitators of Hugo van der Goes there determined the output.

Antwerp gained more and more in importance as an art centre, as the century approached its end. A review of the Antwerp guild registers tells us that masters from all parts of the Netherlands turned thither. The thriving Schelde port lacked indigenous tradition, and every manner of style was able to strike roots there. We get an inkling of how the various incoming trends interningled, but are unable to describe the process in detail.

We have already followed the output in Louvain into the new century, so far as this was possible, when we considered the school of Dieric Bouts[1].

1. Cf. Vol. III.

An attempt to encompass the work of the Brussels school in its peculiarities can be undertaken with some promise of success. It stands to reason that Rogier, whose influence was felt far and wide, was even better able to bring the workshops under his iron will in the narrower purlieus of his own town; nor are indications, in support of stylistic analysis, entirely lacking that would serve to localize the art of Brussels. Rogier died in Brussels in 1464. His descendants continued to live there. At least one of his four sons became a painter. Pieter, born in 1437, in all likelihood studied with his father and was present in Rogier's studio at the time of its greatest accomplishments, indeed, may have had a part in them, in one way or another. He continued to work in Brussels into the 16th century, and we may envisage that he, more than anyone else, was the guardian of the Rogierian tradition. Two of his sons in turn became painters, Goswijn, born in 1465, and Rogier the Younger. Goswijn is the only one of Rogier's descendants whose art has emerged with some clarity[2].

2. Cf. the highly important essay by Hulin (unfortunately unfinished) in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 59 ff.

Pieter's name is interposed like a hyphen between that of his father and that of

his son. To reconstruct an unknown entity from its relationship to two that are known remains a hazardous undertaking. In critically examining the panels done in Rogier's studio around 1460, it is tempting to try to uncover the son as one of the assistants, to isolate his share. Yet we should expect that, however modest his independent creative endowment, his personal qualities would emerge more and more plainly, the more time had elapsed since the death of his great father. On the theory that Pieter took over his father's studio after 1464, running it to the best of his ability, mindful of the prestige of the van der Weyden name and perhaps counting on assistants who had worked under Rogier, we would expect its particular forte to have been the faithful and routine use of the store of drawings and cartoons that had come down from Rogier. Actually, we find Rogier's pictorial motives in many workshops, nor merely in Brussels. In Bruges, particularly, we see this seed shoot into flower. Pieter van der Weyden's studio, nevertheless, must have been very much governed by tradition, disposing as it did of the richest and most immediate heritage.

A few years ago, I was intrigued by a picture then on the market in Paris (47, Plate 50). It clearly displays a style I have noted in some other works from both the immediate and the more remote circle around Rogier, although less sharply articulated, pure and tangible. The painting represents the legend of St. Catherine, and I have named its author after it.

Brick walls divide a number of scenes from one another in the painting. In a chapel on the right, the saint kneels before the standing Virgin, receiving the ring the infant Jesus hands down to her. In the rear of the same chapel, the saint is again shown, praying before a Madonna image. The events shown at centre and on the left cannot with certainty be related to St. Catherine. The lady in princely attire shown worshipping a crucifix, in a narrow chamber, held by a servant, and again at centre, following with her entourage the crucifix borne before her, must probably be regarded as St. Catherine, although she appears in different garb from the maiden kneeling at the right. Further back in the middle stands a temple, inside which some heathen idols are collapsing, to the horror ot some pagans. The entire legend is certainly not told. The martyrdom is not shown. Presumably this panel was the centrepiece of a triptych, or one unit in a sequence.

Two figures, noteworthy for their artfully complex postures, would seem to transcend the author's capacity—the man in side view, a scroll of paper in his right hand, his left hooked into his belt, and the standing Virgin with the infant Jesus, who twists his trunk sharply against his abdomen. The man is borrowed from the left shutter of Rogier's Bladelin altarpiece. The Virgin does not demonstrably appear in Rogier's œuvre, but judging by the compositional idea, she must derive from Rogier. The child twists and turns in a manner similar to the painting from Tongerloo, which Hulin has shown to be the work of Goswijn van der Weyden[3]. Lastly, the little dog inserted arbitrarily is revealing. Rogier used a dog of this breed and in this aspect more than once to fill spaces in his paintings, for example in the right shutter of the St. Columba altarpiece and in the right shutter of the Antwerp triptych.

Rogier's characteristic style shows up harshly and rather glaringly here, as though copied by rote, indeed, almost caricatured. A few recurrent flaws tell the story—

3. In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 34, 1933, p. 77.

ears that are too large and placed too high; eye lines (brow, upper and lower lids) that run straight and almost parallel, without proper arching, unchanging in perspective even in the averted side of the face. The eyes themselves are dark and look out from narrow slits, their gaze pinched and sometimes squinting—downright evil and piercing, when the expression is emphasized.

58 Two pictures in the Bargello at Florence agree entirely in manner and quality with the St. Catherine panel. Opposing shutters—an *Annunciation* and a *Presentation*—they confirm the master's relationship to Rogier (52, Plate 54). The *Annunciation* is beyond any doubt copied after Rogier, the figures coinciding rather closely with the large panel from the Ashburnham collection in the Metropolitan Museum, New York[4]. The *Presentation*, however, is a variant of the composition we already know from the St. Columba altarpiece. I do not go so far as to assume that the painter directly copied paintings or borrowed parts of them, but rather envisage that he worked from drawings by Rogier's hand, or from copies of such drawings.

4. Cf. Vol. II, No. 48.

A *Crucifixion* that reached the Prado with the Pablo Bosch collection reveals the hand of our master especially in two kneeling women, inserted into an otherwise familiar composition (50, Plate 54). The Crucified Christ, the Virgin and St. John are precisely as in the centrepiece of Rogier's Vienna triptych. In addition to the two kneeling women, the donor pair at the right has been replaced by a standing woman. Apart from these added figures, one would have to catalogue this panel as a nameless copy from Rogier's studio.

Two parts of a triptych by the hand of the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine are to be found among the mysterious store of paintings in the Capilla Real at Granada (54, Plate 56). There is a centre panel with the Virgin and Sts. Barbara and Catherine, and one of the shutters, showing a *Mass of Pope Gregory*. The overall context as well as the theme of the missing right shutter become apparent from a faithful replica of this altarpiece, which was for a time in the collection of Professor Lanz in Amsterdam and is now the property of Mr. J. H. van Heek, who has loaned it to the Mauritshuis in The Hague for exhibition (54a, Plate 56). The right wing shows St. Ildefonso being invested with a chasuble by the Virgin. These compositions are not demonstrable in Rogier's œuvre, but this does not by any means prove that the painter invented them himself. In the background of the centre panel extends a palace courtyard with garden plots. Here the master operates with a motive that was popular in Dieric's circle but comes as a surprise in Rogier's.

There is a rather astringent triptych in the Wallraf-Richartz museum at Cologne, comprising a *Descent from the Cross*, a *Resurrection*, and a *St. Jerome with a Donor* (51, Plate 55). It is a characteristic work by our master, allowing his bitter and ascetic character to emerge sharply.

Preserved at the Seminary in Bruges is a triptych with a *Last Supper* that displays all of the master's qualities (48, Plate 51). Some curious excursuses are linked to this work. The initials I M in the window lights—which probably mean Jesus and Mary, if they mean anything—have been misused as clues to the painter's name. There is a high degree of likelihood that this altarpiece was created *for* Bruges, a slightly lesser one that it was done *in* Bruges. We are, however, scarcely under the necessity of following this hint to the extent of translating the productive workshop of Rogier's successor from Brussels to Bruges, even while we may keep in

mind this argument that testifies on behalf of Bruges. The angel on the right [113] shutter, bringing sustenance to the prophet Elijah, coincides rather closely with the angel in Rogier's *Dream of Pope Sergius*[5], while inserted inconspicuously, arbitrarily and without motive in the left [115] wing (which shows a *Feast of Passover*) is a dog, a seated greyhound, known to us from Rogier's altarpieces—the one in Antwerp [116], and the St. Columba [117]. It is precisely the use of irrelevant motives from Rogier's store that establishes the relationship of this workshop to Rogier. The painter seized upon every occasion to boast of his heritage, using Rogier's art as a kind of quarry.

5. Cf. Vol. II, No. 19. This painting has gone to the Mortimer Schiff collection (New York) [14].

In 1922, a triptych that had been in the possession of Lady Leyland and that is clearly related in style to the altarpiece in the Bruges Seminary went to the National Gallery in Melbourne[6] (49, Plates 52, 53). It is a curious work in more than one respect, and under stylistic scrutiny it falls apart. Four masters worked on it. Conway speaks of a 'syndicate'. The centrepiece, with an abundance of figures, is a *Feeding of the Five Thousand*, painted by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, who has added, almost by way of signature, the two dogs, the terrier and the greyhound. Further, without particular meaning, he has borrowed (foremost, on the left) the agitated female figure from the *Lamentation* in The Hague that has also been often copied elsewhere.

6. Cf. M. Conway, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 40, 1922, pp. 163 ff.

On the left inside shutter is a *Marriage at Cana*, the work of an ingratiating painter who, by comparison, strikes a note of serene festivity with relative independence. This master, whom I call the Master of the Portraits of Princes, seems to me to be the painter of the *Portrait of Count Engelbert of Nassau* that was auctioned in Amsterdam in 1914 [118]. This likeness, dated 1487 (?), was presumably done in Brussels. Engelbert was appointed Stadholder of the Netherlands in 1485. Two male portraits, in the Polish museum at Poznan (Plate 104) [119] and in Sigmaringen [120], may be by the same hand. The personality we encounter here is diffident. This painter specialized in doing small portraits of high-born personages.

A third master, ambitious but not very strong, painted the *Raising of Lazarus* on the right wing, and the *St. Peter* on the outside, while the *Virgin and Child* on the left outside discloses the hand of a fourth painter[7]. How are we to explain this discordant assemblage? The three painters who worked on the shutters may have been studio associates or assistants to the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Or some patron may have acquired the centre panel and had it expanded into an altarpiece with shutters[8]. The left shutter contains an abundance of verifiable portraits—the whole ancestry of the Burgundian dynasty, as has been rightly remarked[9]. Seated side by side at the table are Philip the Good with his three wives, Charles the Bold with his wife, Emperor Maximilian with Mary, and lastly Philip the Fair, youthful and wifeless, terminating the row at the front. Since this prince was born in 1478 and married in 1495, a date shortly before 1495 is established for this shutter, if not for the entire altarpiece. True, the centre panel looks a bit old-fashioned for so late a date, but I should not wish to vouch that it was done earlier. The date does seem rather early for the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene, but by no means impossibly so.

7. The Master of the Legend of the Magdalene, whose work must be put in the time around 1510, and whom we shall have occasion to discuss in a subsequent volume [21]. The angels on the palmtree are taken from an engraving by Schongauer.

8. Perhaps Adolph of Cleves, whose strongly emphasized portrait is discernible on the left shutter.

9. *Burlington Magazine, loc. cit.* The identification of the figures in the centre panel there attempted seems less convincing.

We find a second triptych of confused content and with stylistic discrepancies in the Job altarpiece in the Cologne museum[10] (69, Plates 64, 65). Of these four equal-

10. Cf. my analysis of this work in my essay on the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara in *Galls Jahrbuch*, 1924, pp. 20 ff.

sized panels, two—a *Visitation* on Rogier's model, and a rather lame *Jesus Gives the Key to St. Peter*—display the style of the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine in weakened and diluted form, while the other two wings, each with an episode from the Book of Job, are from the hand of another painter, the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. The donor portraits, including the kneeling man in the *Visitation*,
60 belong to the second master. The contrast is quite plain, especially when the eyes are observed—here narrow and blinking tightly, there wide open and staring. From his armorial bearings, the donor has been identified as Claudio de Villa, an Italian known to have been in the Netherlands[11]. If de Villa gave the commission to the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, it is remarkable that the execution of the donor portraits went to the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara (who may have worked as an assistant in the studio of the other master) rather than to the studio head himself. Perhaps de Villa acquired the altarpiece from the workshop of the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine in an unfinished state and had it completed by the second master. This might explain the discrepancy in contents. The two panels with scenes from the story of Job look odd beside the *Visitation* and the *Jesus Gives the Key to St. Peter*.

11. Around 1475, this Italian had a carved altarpiece made in Brussels, which is now preserved in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquantenaire)* there. He looks much younger there than in the Job altarpiece, making a date of around 1490 likely for the latter (cf. Destrée, *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, Vol. 2, 1889, col. 49 ff.).

Could the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, who ran a productive workshop and the roots of whose style can be traced into Rogiers, have been Pieter van der Weyden? Possibly this notion might be expanded into a hypothesis. Not all the altarpieces from which this painter borrowed motives fall into Rogier's late period. A student who might have worked in the shop at some particular time or other would be likely to stick to the models of that period; but a son, heir and successor would have model drawings from his father's entire creative period.

In respect of the dogs, it is instructive to see how a few studies by Rogier were exploited as though the breeds had become extinct with Rogier's death, so that the painters of the next generation knew dogs only from Rogierian drawings, or from copies of his drawings. In his sequence of small panels in Strasbourg 1221, Memlinc shows the silky-haired terrier the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine was so fond of adding, and a curiously lively greyhound, which occurs in exactly the same way, but reversed, in a copy of the St. Luke panel that is on the British art market. Included in this copy is another greyhound, going back without a doubt to an original rendering by Rogier 1231.

Among the works of Rogier's shop—taking the term in its narrower sense—which I have enumerated in Volume II are some pieces that could be considered early works by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, for example the *Virgin with Four Saints* in the Cook collection at Richmond (II, No. 122) 1241, the drawing for a cope in Oxford (II, p. 50, Plates 130, 131; see also II, Nos. 65 and 71), the *Resurrection* in the Camberlyn d'Amougies collection (Amsterdam auction, 1926) 1251. Naturally the style of this Rogier follower becomes more and more indistinct as we trace it backwards in time.

The Master of the Legend of St. Barbara, who may have worked hand-in-glove with the putative Pieter van der Weyden on the Job altarpiece, belongs to the third generation, counting from Rogier, i.e. the middle date of his period of activity may have been 1490. He certainly was not an abjectly dependent student of Rogier, but worked with comparative independence, or at least drew on sources unknown

to us. In giving the master a name, I proceeded from a St. Barbara altarpiece[12] (57, Plates 58, 59), a wide triptych, the centre panel of which is in the possession of a Paris art dealer, while the left shutter is in the Confrérie du Saint-Sang at Bruges. This would be another hint as to its place of origin, invalidated in this instance by the fact that the Confrérie acquired the panel only in the 19th century, as reported by Hulin in the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition[13]. The right shutter, which showed the saint's martyrdom, has been lost. We are able to reconstruct the missing part from a drawing in the Louvre[14] (Plate 59), the counterpart to which has been located in the Morgan Library[15] (Plate 59). In style and motives, these two drawings coincide with the painted triptych, but they crowd into two tall fields the story that unfolds broadly in the painting (26). Perhaps the painter was planning a diptych with these careful drawings, and then expanded his narrative when he was commissioned to do a triptych.

The compartmented composition with its dividing structures, streets leading away into the distance and a town wall as the termination at the back, confirms a tradition shared with the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Specifically, we once again encounter an open hexagonal central structure, a pagan temple, with statuettes of deities on the columns. The types depart markedly from those of the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. The younger master tells his story dramatically and, in his quest for expressiveness, lapses now into the barbaric and savage, now into the mannered and sentimental. His idealized young women, high of brow and weak of chin, with arching eyebrows and wide open eyes, move us with their rather vacuous and insipid innocence, while some of the men, with abundant hair, dark eyes and thick lips, look rough and violent. The figures are lean and tread uncertainly on the balls of their narrow feet. Horizontal and vertical furrows above the nose, and hair hanging into the face give the men an air of eager participation.

In the National Gallery at Dublin hangs a panel with two scenes from the legend of St. Nicholas of Bari (67, Plate 62). In a crowded, hexagonal, chapel-like structure, the saint is awakening to life three boys standing in a basin, and he is also healing a sick man seated on the ground. Another panel, in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, as noted more than once, shows close agreement with the Dublin picture in dimensions, style and compositional approach, and may derive from the same altarpiece (66, Plate 62). The Amsterdam panel is usually taken to represent Solomon worshipping a pagan deity, but this is in error. The young man, richly dressed in exotic attire, kneeling and swinging a censer before a pagan temple, cannot be King Solomon, if only for the reason that the woman who enticed him into pagan worship is nowhere to be seen. For an explanation of this puzzling scene, we should like first of all to have recourse to the legend of St. Nicholas, in which, as in so many legends, there is mention of the struggle against pagan worship. The trump-blowers inside the temple are reminiscent of two similar figures in the Job altarpiece at Cologne.

In the Friedsam collection at New York are two shutters painted on both sides (and now split apart), wings to an *Adoration* that has been lost (68, Plate 63). With their heavy coloration and viscid brushwork, they are impressive works by the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. The donor portraits, of bony and rather peasantlike aspect, bear a resemblance to those in the Job altarpiece. Opposite a

12. Cf. the article in *Galls Jahrbuch, loc. cit.*

13. 1902, No. 45.

14. Reproduced in *Galls Jahrbuch, loc. cit.*

15. Reproduced in *J. P. Morgan, Collection of Drawings*, London (privately printed), vol. 3, 1921, No. 127.

Visit of the Queen of Sheba is a scene, often misinterpreted, in which a messenger with a letter kneels before a king seated on a throne. It probably represents Hezekiah, to whom a letter and presents are being brought (2 Kings XX, 12). On the outside is an *Annunciation* in grisaille.

The most charming work by this master is a panel, crowded with graceful
62 women, that went from the von Hollitscher collection to that of Professor Baumgarten in Budapest (60, Plate 60). It shows St. Ursula with her female retinue, a prince, the pope and other figures, standing in the entrance to a tent, the flaps of which are drawn aside by two angels.

From the œuvre as a whole emerges a master of middling stature, a bit heavy-handed, painting with a kind of naïve autonomy that sometimes lapses almost into scruffy caricature. His people are notably dark-complexioned, a hallmark being their staring, circled eyes with an animal gaze expressive of amazement, intimidation, naïveté or sincerity.

There is a third painter whom I fit into this context, under the name of the Master of Sainte Gudule[16]. He very probably worked in Brussels, for one of his paintings shows the façade of the main church in Brussels, the cathedral of St. Gudule 1271. The panel from which I proceeded to establish his identity is in the Louvre (70, Plate 66). It shows a saint preaching inside a chapel-like structure. The overall arrangement, the proportion of figures to architecture, the road leading away into the distance from the side of the structure—all these are organized in a fashion similar to that of the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Yet in temperament and formal idiom, the Master of Sainte Gudule is sharply marked off from his generation, and his eccentric manner becomes easily recognizable. As to his time, there can be little doubt. The fashions in dress which he depicts—in part fanciful and over ornate, in part pleasingly modish—speak for a date around 1485, when this master, in my view, must still have been quite young. Of the two towers of the church of St. Gudule (which appears as the termination of the road in the sermon picture), the left one is much lower than the right, and construction of the West wall has not yet been completed. We know that these towers were topped only in the second half of the 15th century [281].

16. Cf. my essay in Clemen's *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Vol. 1, pp. 309 ff.

The flock in the chapel consists of young cavaliers with portraitlike faces, women and bearded men. The master fills his stage with a provocative turbulence, letting his drapery swing and roll ornamentally. His eloquently gesturing hands have small palms, with long fingers splayed in the shape of a fan.

I attribute two small portraits to this master, who presumably enjoyed the favour of the younger generation and was accounted a bold innovator. One is in Dessau (77, Plate 69), the other in the National Gallery at London (76, Plate 69).

The portrait in the National Gallery includes a landscape background that constitutes a topographical documentation. To the left is a church façade that would seem to be a faithful reproduction of some particular structure [291]. On the right and to the back, on hilly ground, runs the city wall, with a road leading towards it. In the middle of this road stands a square stone block. The same locale is depicted in another painting by this master, a *Betrothal of the Virgin*, preserved in the Tietje collection in Amsterdam[17] (78, Plate 69).

17. No. 220 in the Amsterdam auction of June 1925. The catalogue gives the locale as *La Rue Montagne de l'Oratoire*.

Since last communicating my knowledge of this master[18], I have been able to

18. Cf. my essay, previously cited.

enlarge his œuvre. A panel in the Metropolitan Museum at New York (Dreicer collection), showing three female saints seated side by side—Elizabeth, Catherine and possibly Barbara—reveals his personal style with gratifying clarity (71, Plate 67). Another panel, in the Diocesan museum at Liège, a *Virgin with Mary Magdalene and a Donor*, in full-length, further enriches our picture of him—it is a particularly early work. Judging from the dress, it should be dated shortly before 1480 (73, Plate 67). The architectural framework of this picture is borrowed from Rogier's famous St. Luke panel.

Lastly, there are four rather crudely executed altar shutters, in private ownership in Paris—a *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, a *Scourging of Christ*, a *Resurrection*, and a *Christ Appearing to His Mother*—which unmistakably reveal this Master's peculiar style in all their features, although they should perhaps be described only as workshop products (74, Plate 68). The arms and armour, with their sharp angles and round curves, display the same taste as the splayed fingers and the calligraphically curling plants.

In the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris stands a triptych carved in wood, a work evidently done in Brussels (Plate 109). Its crudely painted shutters show the style of the Master of Sainte Gudule 1301.

The Paris picture with the sermon, by the Master of St. Gudule, has exactly the same measurements as the panels by the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara in Amsterdam and Dublin. If these three panels belong to a single altarpiece, two masters must have worked on the commission, a situation not without precedent.

Certain features common to the workshops we have tentatively located in Brussels can be interpreted as arising from local tradition. We observe a robust, somewhat commercialized and not particularly selective output, producing large altarpieces with themes from a single story cycle and systematically using architectural elements to accommodate on a single panel incidents that succeed one another in time. Along the lower margins we find flowers and foliage in dense concatenation or with regular spaces, a motive possibly associated with the craft of tapestry-weaving that flourished in Brussels.

In a sequence of panels that came to the Brussels museum from the abbey of Afflighem, we meet a master whose Brussels origin is a matter of inscribed record (80, Plates 73-74). Eight panels of equal height but differing width are assembled into two triptychs, although they originally constituted a single polyptych which, when open, showed the Seven Sorrows of Mary. There were three panels with one scene each in the middle, and two panels for each of the wings. Beginning from left to right, there was a *Circumcision*, a *Jesus Among the Doctors*, a *Jesus Bearing the Cross* (with the donor), a *Crucifixion*, a *Descent from the Cross* (missing), and finally an *Entombment* and a *Mourners Taking Leave of the Tomb*. On the outsides of the shutters are four scenes on two panels—a *Presentation of the Virgin*, an *Annunciation*, a *Nativity* and an *Adoration*. The measurements agree with this arrangement, the three centre panels taking up a total width of 255 cm., the narrow pictures on the inside of the shutters averaging 60 cm., while the outsides are 120 cm. each.

The altar drape in the *Circumcision* panel shows the inscription TE . BRUESELE—. In the cathedral choir in Strengnäs, Sweden, stands an altarpiece with wood carvings and painted shutters. One of the panels, a *Presentation*, carries the inscription: *istud*

faciebatur in Bruxella (Plate 100). In Roosval's opinion, these paintings, which are not otherwise known to me, bear a close stylistic resemblance to the Afflighem altarpiece[19].

19. *Schnitzaltäre in Schwedischen Kirchen*, Strasbourg, Heitz, 1903, p. 18.

This master, apparently active around 1495, painted straightforward but rather insipid and empty pictures of medium scale. Among conspicuous hallmarks, I note youthfully smooth faces that curiously contrast with white beards, plain and bare contours, long wooden arms that are angularly articulated, flat daylight, dark eyes set close together, on occasion hair that is combed into the forehead with a smooth fringe, large mouths and boneless fingers. The distance is cut off in the middle-ground by steep rocks, softly rounded at the top, covered with soil and set with scrawny trees with thin foliage.

We meet all the qualities we have observed in the Afflighem altarpiece once again in a sequence of tondi, four of which are preserved in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, while two are in private hands in Worms (79, Plates 70, 71). An inventory note stating that in 1613 the Duc de Croy owned six round representations of the Story of Joseph, as well as six others, probably refers to this sequence. With a single exception, all the surviving pieces contain scenes from the Story of Joseph 1311. One of the tondi in Berlin is questionably described as *Esther Intercedes with Ahasuerus*. On a grass-topped stone embankment, a young prince and a richly attired older man are seated together, as a lady of rank approaches and grasps the prince under the arms, as though to raise him up. He lifts both his hands in a gesture that may be meant to ward her off, to implore her, or to venerate her. In the background is a tower, in the windows of which the same lady is twice visible, once casting down a pagan idol. This can scarcely be reconciled with the story of Esther and probably refers to the legend of some saint who converted a king and then swept out heathen worship. This panel can belong only to those pieces in the possession of the Duc de Croy, the themes of which we are not told in the inventory. This would mean that one panel in the Joseph sequence must have been lost.

Probably by the Brussels Master of the Joseph Sequence is the Zierickzee altarpiece (82, Plate 74), the shutters of which, preserved in the Brussels museum, show Philip the Fair and his wife, Joan the Mad, in full-length. Since Philip married in 1495 and died in 1506, the altarpiece must be dated about 1500. The centrepiece, a *Last Judgment*, was acquired for the Brussels museum only much later, in 1920. In a poor state of preservation, it shows a monotonous abundance of standing nudes and casts little light on its authorship. If this altarpiece was a gift by Philip, one would look for some painter close to him and be tempted to identify as the painter of the Zierickzee triptych, and perhaps even the Master of the Joseph Sequence, the documented *schildere onser genadigsten Heere des Coninckx van Castilie*, Jacob van Lathim, who became a free master in Antwerp in 1493. But the Zierickzee altarpiece may have been commissioned by a municipality for its town hall, in which case the royal couple would have appeared merely in a ceremonial rôle. The landscape background of these panels, however, does reveal a precise knowledge of the palace buildings in Brussels; and the series of vacuous portraits of Philip, presumably painted in the studio of his court painter, agree in their stylized character with the stiff, doll-like figures on the Zierickzee shutters.

The earliest portrait we have of Philip—in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia

—is dated 1483[20]. At the Toison d'Or exhibition in Bruges, no fewer than six bust-length portraits of this prince were on view (Nos. 36-41 in the catalogue)—from Windsor, the Louvre, Vienna and still other places (83, Plate 76). From the hand of the court painter who created this portrait type, we also have portraits of Joan the Mad, and youthful portraits of Philip's daughters, e.g. the *Portrait of a Royal Child*, one of the sisters of Charles v, in the collection of Dr. Figdor in Vienna (321. It may be regarded as probable that this group of court portraits was done by or after Jacob van Lathim (Laethem).

20. Reproduced in Clemen's *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Vol. I, p. 317.

Another master, close in time and place to the Master of the Joseph Sequence, is easily recognized by his stereotyped treatment of foliage. He crowds his landscape background with buildings and trees, pedantically lightening the foliage with a regular pattern of dots. Of rather large size, his pictures are reminiscent of tapestry and embroidery. There are smooth tree trunks and sometimes stumps, occasionally a peacock or a stag, all contributing to the dense and monotonous entanglement. Thin creepers climb up the firm, towerlike walls. An instructive and excellently preserved specimen of this master's manner is the Madonna sold as a 'Gerard David' at the auction of Baron A. von Oppenheim and now offered for sale by an art dealer in South Germany (84, Plate 77). A faithful replica of this Madonna, with the same orientation, forms the centre of a triptych in the museum at Lille (84a, Plate 78). The musical angels on the wings of this triptych are familiar to us from the many repetitions of the *Virgin in the Apse* that go back to the Master of Flémalle[21]. A similar Madonna, but with the child in a different posture, turned up in 1912 on the Paris art market (85, Plate 80). Although he was probably not active before 1500 (331, this master is unable to cut loose from Rogier's figure style—indeed, he seems to have copied his Virgin from the famous St. Luke panel (89, Plate 82) (341.

21. Cf. Vol. II, No. 74.

In three different inscriptions, Colijn de Coter names Brussels as his home or place of work. His personality has become sharply defined. A faithful traditionalist, and perhaps even emphasizing archaic elements, he strives for a lofty, ecclesiastical style, a sombre dignity, and shrouds his firm, traditional, but empty forms in a vigorous chiaroscuro. His sharply modelled drapery is sometimes round and curved, sometimes sharp and broken. His linen is brittle in form. He models by means of opaque black shadows. In 1493, a Colijn van Bruesele became a full-fledged master in Antwerp and decorated the ceiling of the painters' chapel with angel figures. Perhaps he was especially summoned to Antwerp to do this job, and soon returned to Brussels. His name, in any event, does not recur in the Antwerp archives after 1493 (351.

His three signature inscriptions show agreement with one another. The St. Omer altarpiece in the Louvre says: COLIIN DE COTER PINGIT ME IN BRABANCIA BRVSELLE (90, Plates 84, 85). This is also seen in the picture of St. Luke and in the Madonna at Vieure (Allier, France; 100, Plate 92), only without the BRVSELLE (361. In a Madonna that has recently turned up in West German hands, the BRABANCIA is missing, and the BRVSELLE (371 is replaced by BRVCCELE[22] (98, Plate 90).

22. Cf. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1924, pp. 117 ff.

A number of works that are similar in style and merit to the signed panels have been properly attributed to this master, e.g. a *Virgin with Angels* in the Chicago museum (Ryerson collection) (99, Plate 91), two standing angels (381 in full-length

that are on the market in New York (91, Plate 86), two altar shutters in the Masure-Six collection at Tourcoing, showing Philip the Fair and his consort, kneeling, with Christ, the Virgin and a number of portrait figures (93, Plate 87). Several of these pictures, like the shutters with the portraits, were done in the early 16th century. The largest known altarpiece by Colijn stood in the church of St. Alban in
66 Cologne (94, Plate 88). It was barbarously cut into pieces early in the 19th century, and one must look in three places—Munich, Bonn and the Rhenish art market—for four of the fragments that do not even fully reconstitute this mighty panel of the *Last Judgment*[23].

About 1500, Colijn de Coter was a widely renowned painter who, from Brussels, carried out voluminous commissions for distant places. The preference for this stranger in Antwerp testifies to the fact that his capacity for monumental decoration was acknowledged. What commended him was his scale, his deep coloration with its strong contrasts of light and dark, adapted to large dimensions. In the dim lighting of churches, his altar panels impressed with their massiveness, their air of doom, the juxtaposition of tall, columnlike figures. He was little concerned with spatial depth and landscape, placing his characters in the foremost level and filling the foreground with a dense wall of figures.

The centrepiece of a triptych in the Brussels museum comes close to Colijn's œuvre (105, Plate 100). It shows a *Nativity* and a *Circumcision* side by side, and, oddly enough, in a central extension at the top, a youthful couple with an angel, standing on an airy, ornamental bridge[24]. A donor, shown as a canon, seems to have been inserted by another hand. Types and drapery, the steep and narrow woman's head, the dark and sinister man's head with deep-seated eyes—all these point to Colijn, although the superficial and cursory formal idiom bespeak a workshop product.

The decay of this style can be traced in many places. If we assume that Colijn ran a large workshop, perhaps deep into the 16th century, where painted shutters for carved altarpieces were executed, we may add here a number of mediocre paintings, like the altar shutters of Orsoy (Rhine Province) (139), those at Praust (Plate 101) (140) and those from Schloss Thal near Aachen (141), which were auctioned in Cologne in 1920.

We are not surprised to find close connections with Brussels in Mechlin. Like Brussels, Mechlin was a seat of the court. The Stadholder Margaret liked to live in Mechlin, where the orphaned children of Philip the Fair were educated after 1506. Presumably, a number of painters were drawn from Brussels to Mechlin, because of commitments to the court. A sequence of 25 representations from the life of St. Romualdus in the cathedral might offer us much enlightenment, especially since more than one painter worked on them (106, Plates 95–99). Alas, if only these panels could be seen better! I have been able to examine with due care only two pictures from this sequence, of which I have photographs. One of them, showing the saint in a forest, encountering another saint, belongs to Colijn's workshop, judging from the style—except for the donor couple, done by a humble Mechlin painter, recognizable in other works (109, Plate 96).

The second picture looks to be somewhat more recent and may have been done before 1510 1921. It shows a sacrificial table within a chapel, with a donor couple (106, Plate 99). This is entirely a work of the Master of the Magdalene Legend,

23. Cf. W. Cohen, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, Vol. 1, 124, pp. 109 ff.

24. In the Brussels catalogue, the couple, to whom the angel is offering wreaths, are identified as Sts. Valerian and Cecilia.

whom we shall have occasion to discuss further on [431]. A noteworthy work, painted beyond doubt in Mechlin about 1495, is the wide panel preserved in the Antwerp museum, showing St. George and two bishops, together with a large number of male portraits, assembled in a naïve and archaic pattern (107, Plate 99). It represents a guild of archers with their patron, a forerunner of the Dutch *Doelenstück*. Its modest painter, given to large, light-coloured heads and stubby hands, evidently enjoyed the favour of the Mechlin citizenry. The donor portraits that are prominent in the St. Romualdus panel mentioned above are by his hand. I feel entitled to attribute to him a single portrait that has turned up in private hands in Paris. It is dated 1498, and, according to an inscription, represents a certain Jan de Mol [441] (108, Plate 100).

The total picture, put together in this chapter, from many small pieces, into a mosaic from which, I am afraid, some components may become dislodged, shows the typical character of run-of-the-mill production between 1470 and 1500. Rooted in Brussels and reaching out towards Bruges, Antwerp and Mechlin, traditional forms slowly and stubbornly lived out their allotted span. Only the sallies of the Master of St. Gudule display a novel and provocative manner. We shall have occasion to look back on this output as a seedbed, when we consider and describe the forces that begin to stir in Antwerp and Brussels in the 16th century—men like Goswijn van der Weyden, Bernart van Orley, the Master of the Magdalene Legend, as well as the 'Mannerists.'

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF HUGO VAN DER GOES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

1. (Plate 1) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*, with a landscape background. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 336 (Valentiner's catalogue 11; 31 × 24). Formerly in the collections of John Harman and Rev. Heath (Enfield), this painting has gone under Rogier's name, but was tentatively declared by me to be a youthful work of Hugo van der Goes (*Art in America*, 1921, p. 66; cf. p. 22, above) [451].

a. Art market, Berlin (1922). A free, rough copy with dotted gilt ground [461].

2. (Plate 2) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, in full-length, with a clerical donor. Brussels museum, No. 544 (32.5 × 39). The new catalogue of the Brussels museum lists this painting as by a student of Hugo van der Goes. My reasons for ascribing it to the master himself are given on pp. 21, 22.

3. (Plate 3) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*, with a landscape background. Brussels museum (39 × 27.5). From the Onnes collection (Amsterdam auction of 1923, No. 9). On this painting's state and dating, cf. p. 23. (Our plate shows it after restoration [471].)

4. (Plates 4-6) *Diptych:* left panel, *The Fall of Man* (No. 631); right panel, *The Lamentation* (No. 629); from the verso of the right [481] panel, in grisaille, *St. Genevieve* (No. 630). Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, (each panel 35.5 × 23.2). From the collection of Archduke Leopold William (cf. pp. 23-25, above). • Inv. Nos. in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorisches Museum: 945 *(Fall of Man)*; 5822a *(Lamentation)*; 5822b *(St. Genevieve)*.

a. (Plate 6) M. J. Friedländer collection, Berlin. A 16th-century copy of the *Lamentation* (35 × 23). • Now in the G. Cramer Gallery, The Hague (1968); 32.5 × 22 cm.

b. (Plate 6) Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (Pálffy collection). A 16th-century copy of the *Lamentation* (on copper; 33.9 × 24.5). Formerly in the Jäger and F. J. Gsell collections, Vienna. • Inv. No. 4325.

For imitations of the *Fall of Man*, cf. No. 36, below.

5. (Plates 7, 8) *Virgin and Child:* centrepiece of an altarpiece, with shutters by a less skilled hand showing the donor and his spouse with saints. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 111 (The panel of the centrepiece measures 21 × 14; 30 × 23.5 including the frame. • The shutters measure each 30 × 11.5 cm, including the frame). From the arms, the donor on the left shutter is Willem van Overbeke, his patron St. William. The wife, on the right shutter, is Johanna de Keysere, with St.

John the Baptist. The donor, secretary to the Grand Council at Mechlin, died in 1529, his wife in 1517. Since their wedding day was 5th February 1478, the centre panel must have been inserted in the altarpiece—but not necessarily painted—after that date. On the verso of the shutters, in grisaille, an *Annunciation*. The arms and the motto *En Esperance* (repeated several times) appear on the centre frame (cf. pp. 25, 26, above).

6. (Plate 8) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*. Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (water colour on canvas, 48.9 × 32.8; cf. p. 27, above) 1491. • Cat. No. 1.

7. (Plate 9) *Group of the Mourners from a Lamentation*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1622 (water colour on canvas, 53 × 36). From the Panciatichi collection, Florence. As evident from copies, this is not a fragment but the wing of a diptych, preserved in its original dimensions, the other wing depicting a *Deposition*. Copies of this missing wing are in Florence and Altenburg (cf. p. 26, above, and No. 24, below) 1501. • The Berlin painting is now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. (Plate 9) Art market, Paris (1913). A careful copy. • Now in the Paul Kettenbach collection, Neu-Ulm (1968); 53 × 38.5 cm.

b. Capilla Real, Granada. Free copies of both panels by Memlinc 1511.

c. (Plate 9) Pinakothek, Munich, No. 623 (50 × 39). The wing with the mourners, by a Memlinc imitator. • Inv. No. WAF 670; Depot, Schleissheim Castle.

d. Palazzo Durazzo, Genoa. The entire composition, expanded to fill a triptych. A minor work of about 1500.

8. (Plates 10, 11) *Altarpiece:* centre, *The Adoration of the Kings;* left shutter, *The Circumcision of Jesus;* right shutter, *The Slaughter of the Innocents*, Hermitage, St. Petersburg (Leningrad), No. 453. Transferred from wood to canvas 1521, 96 × 78—38—cf. p. 29, above). • 96 × 77.5—32 cm.

9. (Plates 12, 13) *Altarpiece of the Adoration:* centre, the Virgin with Joseph and the senior king, kneeling; left shutter, the two junior kings, standing; right shutter, the donor, in the garb of a canon, kneeling with St. Stephen; on the verso of the shutters, in grisaille, a mediocre *Annunciation*, probably a workshop product. Collection of Prince Liechtenstein, Vienna (26 × 22—10). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 52 (cf. p. 30, above). • Now in the Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz, Inv. No. G. 735-737; 26 × 23—28 × 10 cm.

10. (Plates 14-18) *The Portinari Altarpiece:* centre, *The Nativity*, with worshipping angels; left shutter, Tommaso Portinari, kneeling, with his sons Antonio (born 1472) and Pigello (born 1474) and Sts. Thomas and Anthony Abbot; on the right shutter, his spouse, Maria Baroncelli with her daughter Maria (probably born in 1471) and Sts. Margaret and Magdalene. On the verso of the shutters, in grisaille, an *Annunciation* 1531. Uffizi, Florence, No. 1525 (249 × 300—137). Tommaso Portinari lived in Bruges as agent of the Medici and gave this altarpiece to the church of the Santa Maria Nuova hospital in Florence. The authenticity of this, the master's

chef d'œuvre is established by its mention as early as the 16th century. It was painted between 1473 and 1475 (cf. p. 16, above) 1541.

11. (Plate 19) *Donor Wing of the Altarpiece of St. Hippolytus.* Church of St. Sauveur, Bruges (91 × 40). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 37. This altarpiece was executed
70 largely by Dieric Bouts and was given by Hippolyte de Berthoz and his spouse Elisabeth de Keverwyck (cf. Vol. III, No. 29) 1551. The St. Hippolytus painted in grisaille on the verso of the donor shutter is more reminiscent in style of Hugo van der Goes than of Dieric Bouts. Two further shutters were added in the 16th century 1561. Cf. p. 27, above.

12. (Plates 20, 21) *Two Altarpiece Shutters.* Palace of Holyrood, Edinburgh (each panel 216 × 115). Left, James III of Scotland (1453-1488) and his son James (later James IV—1472 [or 1473]—1513), kneeling, with St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland; verso, the Trinity; right shutter, Margaret of Denmark, wife of James III, kneeling, with a youthful saint in knight's panoply; verso, Sir Edward Bonkil, provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh, kneeling before an organ on which an angel is playing. Exhibited at the Grafton Gallery, London, in 1911, Nos. 218-221. On date and state of preservation, cf. p. 28, 29. • Now in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (on loan from H.M. the Queen).

13. (Plate 24) *Portrait Head,* on a dark ground. Segment, a clean-shaven man, looking down. Metropolitan Museum, New York (Dreicer collection), No. W 54-3 (25 × 18.5), there attributed to Rogier van der Weyden 1571. From the John Linnell collection. Cf. *Art in America,* 1921, p. 188, where a reproduction is also mistakenly given to Rogier. The text relates to another portrait (cf. p. 30, above). • Acc. No. 22.60.53.

14. (Plate 22) *Death of the Virgin.* Academy, Bruges, No. 26 (Weale's catalogue; 125 × 120). From the Abbey of Notre Dame des Dunes (according to Weale, in the catalogue of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, No. 51). This picture formerly went under the name of Scorel (cf. pp. 30-31, above). • Now in the Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum).

a. (Plate 23) Church of St. Sauveur. An old copy.

b. In private hands, England. According to Weale, *loc. cit.*

c. (Plate 23) Museum, Valenciennes, No. 202 (95 × 94). A free 16th-century copy of mediocre quality. • Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. 46.1.267.

15. (Plates 25-27) *Nativity,* with worshipping shepherds and two prophets in half-length. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1622A (97 × 245) 1581. Acquired in 1903 from the heirs of the Infanta Cristina de Bourbon in Madrid. Previously exhibited in the Trinidad Museum at Madrid under the name of Lucas van Leyden (cf. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, German ed., p. 349, also p. 32, above). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

16. (Plate 25) *Nativity,* with two worshipping shepherds. Wilton House, Salisbury,

collection of the Earl of Pembroke, No. 309 in the guide (32.5 × 32.5). Reproduced in *Wilton House Pictures*, 1907.

a. Mayer collection, Kötzschenbroda (52.7 × 60). A crude copy.

b. Ruede collection, Riehen near Basle. A free copy, much modified in style (water colour on canvas) 1591.

17. (Plates 28-31) *Adoration*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (150 × 247). Acquired in 1914 from the Monforte monastery in Northern Spain. In the original frame, which still carries the iron hinges that supported the lost shutters. Part of the central portion, projecting upwards, has been severed, but copies convey an impression of the missing part. The shutters may be plausibly reconstructed from an altarpiece by the Master of Frankfurt, in Vienna and Antwerp, in which the central *Adoration* is certainly copied after Hugo, and perhaps the *Nativity* and the Circumcision on the shutters as well (cf. pp. 33-35, above) 1601. • The Monforte altarpiece is now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. (Plate 28) Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 648 (75 × 63). A rather faithful but mediocre copy, in reverse. • Has left the museum in 1953, on an exchange basis, and has been since in the possession of a French art dealer.

b. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 647 (101 × 55—28). A triptych, the centrepiece of which is freely copied after the Monforte panel, while the ingeniously invented shutters with a *Nativity* and a *Circumcision* may also go back to Hugo van der Goes. Probably painted by the Master of Frankfurt 1611. • 99 × 55—23 cm.

c. Art market, Paris, 1912. The centrepiece only, as in b, but with a straight termination at the top 1621. • Probably later in New York (Duveen Gallery, 1946).

d. (Plate 28) Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), Nos. 168-170 (161 × 215—100). By the Master of Frankfurt, the centrepiece freely copied after the Monforte panel, the shutters much as in b, but with certain shifts made necessary by the difference in dimensions. The proportions of this Antwerp altarpiece are similar to the Monforte altarpiece 1631.

18. (Plate 32) *Portrait of a Donor with St. John the Baptist:* shutter from an altarpiece 1641. Henry Walters collection, Baltimore (33.3 × 23). From 1903 until about 1920 on display at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, the property of Mijnheer Leenbruggen. Formerly in the M. P. A. Borger collection, Arnhem. No. 66 in the Amsterdam auction of 13th April 1920. • Now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore Md., Acc. No. 37.296; 32.2 × 22.5 cm.

CATALOGUE B: COPIES AFTER LOST WORKS BY HUGO VAN DER GOES AND WORKS BY HIS IMITATORS AND FOLLOWERS

19. *The Story of David and Abigail*. According to van Mander's description, originally painted over a mantlepiece (cf. p. 37, above). A number of copies dating back to about 1600 give an idea of this composition 1651.

a. (Plate 33) Brussels museum, No. 755 (172 × 232, on canvas). From the Musée du Cinquantenaire.

b. (Plate 33) Novak collection, Prague, No. 30 (1899 catalogue; 95 × 130, on canvas). • Now in the National Gallery, Prague, Inv. No. 0.5531.

c. Collection of Dr. G. Hülsemann, Wiesbaden (on canvas).

72 d. Merzenich collection, Aachen.

e. Spencer Churchil collection, Northwick Park, No. 101, there attributed to Lucas van Leyden. • Apparently sold with this collection at Christie's, London, in 1965.

f. J. Eloin collection, Brussels (148 × 240, on canvas, according to Destrée, p. 71).

g. Brussels auction of 1907 (according to Destrée, p. 71).

h. Art market, England, 1917 (155 × 245), possibly identical with g.

20. *Adoration*, the figures in full-length.

a. (Plate 34) Pinakothek, Munich, No. 118 (121 × 164). Worked over in parts, especially the head of the Virgin. A free copy by Gerard David 1661. • Inv. No. 715.

b. (Plate 34) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 546 (95 × 95). Apparently a rather close copy, the types displaying Hugo's style. This composition often served as a model for book illuminations done in Ghent and Bruges, one example being a single sheet with miniature painting that appeared on the Belgian art market in 1924 (17 × 23.5) (Plate 34) 1671. • The Berlin picture is now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

21. *Adoration*, the figures in half-length.

a. (Plate 35) Bath museum, England (46 × 75). Formerly in the possession of the Earls of Comelly, Wilford Castle, Somerset. Exhibited at the Guildhall, London, in 1906, No. 14. • Now in the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath.

b. (Plate 35) Archaeological museum, Madrid, collection of Don Juan de Valencia. • Has left the Museum 1681.

22. *Adoration*, the figures in half-length 1691.

a. (Plate 36) Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 47-1, there attributed to Gerard van der Meire (72.5 × 71.5). • Inv. No. 71.100; 74 × 65.1 cm.

b. (Plate 36) Copenhagen museum, No. 235 (74 × 72).

These two replicas, of approximately equal merit, are by an excellent follower and may go back to an original painting by Hugo. • Cat. 1951, No. 861.

23. *Deposition*, in wide format, with six figures.

a. (Plate 37) Naples museum.

b. (Plate 36) Thiébauld-Sisson collection, Paris. Like a, it appears to be a very close copy.

c. (Plate 37) Christ Church College, Oxford. A fragment showing only the heads of the Virgin and St. John (on canvas). Cf. *Burlington Magazine*, August 1907. Erroneously regarded as part of the original.

d. Art market, Munich, 1923 (73 × 73).

e. (Plate 36) Lisbon museum, formerly in the royal collection (90 × 150). •

Now in the Fundação da Casa de Bragança, Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa.

f. (Plate 37) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 339, the centrepiece of a triptych (87 × 106). Contains an epitaph for Willem Gertz († 1534).

There are an immense number of other copies, for the most part of later date and poor quality. Destrée mentions some of them (p. 47) 1701.

24. *Deposition*

a. (Plate 9) Altenburg museum, No. 182 (on canvas, 37 × 36.5).

b. (Plate 9) Bargello, Florence, Carrand collection (26 × 16).

This composition goes back to van der Goes. It formed the left wing of a diptych, the right wing of which, showing a group of mourners, is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (see No. 7, above). Cf. Gr. Ring, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. 14, 1912/13, pp. 83 ff. 1711.

25. *Death of the Virgin* 1721.

a. (Plate 38) Rudolfinum, Prague, No. 501 (39 × 37). A dry copy. • Inv. No. Do-30.

b. (Plate 38) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 538B 1731 (39 × 37). Precisely like a and probably by the same hand. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

c. (Plate 38) National Gallery, London, No. 658 (38 × 34). Erroneously attributed to the Master of Flémalle. A free copy. Christ and the hovering angels above were added 1741.

d. Amsterdam auction of 6th May 1913, No. 5, there attributed to Abraham Benson (sic); 94 × 69.5. A free copy of about 1525. The Benson attribution derives from a doubtful monogram. On the Paris art market in 1922. • Sold at the Mme von Lennep-von Braam . . . auction, Amsterdam, 17th February 1923, Lot 25.

26. *Virgin in Half-Length with Three Prophets and Two Sibyls.*

a. (Plate 39) Antwerp museum, Ertborn collection, No. 262 (132 × 86). By Ambrose Benson 1751. • 132 × 109 cm.

The sibyl at the right has been very frequently copied. The entire composition is also found in a prayer book in the style of Simon Bening (Plate 39), in the Munich library (Cim. 41). • Ms. lat. 23637, f° 118 v°.

Destrée, in the *Bulletin of the Académie Royale de Belgique, Séance*, 4th March 1926, pp. 26–37, gives striking proof that the well-known composition of this Benson painting derives from Hugo and relates to it a verse passage Sir Thomas More addressed to Jerome Busleyden, mentioning a triptych by Hugo that showed the Virgin surrounded by seers, prophets and sibyls. Busleyden, who died in 1517 at the age of 47, had written a poem on it. Ambrose Benson may not have worked directly from the original by Hugo. A version by Gerard David may have intervened.

27. (Plate 39) *Virgin in Half-Length.* National Gallery, London, No. 3066 (Layard Bequest; 32 × 21). An excellent work in which the styles of Hugo van der Goes and Gerard David are blended. Possibly a copy by David after van der Goes 1761.

28. *Virgin, Standing, in Full-Length.*

a. (Plate 40) Ghent museum (new accession). A 16th-century copy, on canvas (cf. p. 42, above).

29. (Plate 40) *Madonna in Half-Length*, rounded at the top. Baron Herzog collec-
74 tion, Budapest, formerly in the Hainauer collection, Berlin (No. 79 in the catalogue of that collection), auctioned by Spitzer in Paris in 1893, No. 3310 (34 × 24.5, including the original frame). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 107. From the type and the form of the hand, in Hugo's manner, but a bit coarse in execution 1771.

a. Jacques Rosenthal collection, Munich. A replica with the Virgin's head greatly changed, dating from about 1530. The work of a certain follower of Joos van Cleve (27 × 21) 1781.

30. (Plate 41) *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John.* Correr museum, Venice (41.5 × 27). An important and excellently executed composition not otherwise known, the work of a follower 1791.

31. (Plate 41) *The Emperor Augustus and the Sibyl*, in half-length, one wing of a diptych, rounded at the top. W. Samuel collection, London. Excellent in execution, entirely worthy of the master, the work of a talented follower, if indeed not by himself. Cf. pp. 42-43, above. • Now in the Bearsted collection (National Trust), Upton House, Banbury; 29.1 × 21.5 cm.

32. (Plate 41) *Adoration*, upright format, the figures in full-length. Von Witzleben collection, Karlsruhe. Exhibited in the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle in 1922 (96 × 84). The composition is not otherwise known. In types and postures reminiscent of van der Goes. Apparently by a competent follower. • Now in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen (Switzerland); 102 × 84 cm.

33. (Plate 41) *Adoration*, upright format, the figures in full-length. De Fursac auction, Brussels, 14th and 15th December 1923, No. 86 (78 × 56). By composition and types in Hugo's manner, resembling especially the half-length composition in Bath (No. 21, above). Possibly based on a model by van der Goes. By a mediocre imitator. • Subsequently in the possession of the art dealer Paul Mersch, Paris, 1924.

34. (Plate 42) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, singing angels in the right middleground. Louvre, Paris. Reproduced in Dulberg: *Frühholländer in Paris*, there attributed to a follower of Geertgen. Cf. Winkler, *Kunstchronik*, 1922, pp. 611 ff., where this panel is erroneously associated with some drawings (cf. pp. 46-47, above). An excellent work by a relatively autonomous follower of Hugo not otherwise identifiable. • Inv. No. 1987; M.R. 814; 45 × 32 cm.

35. (Plate 42) *Head of Christ, Crowned with Thorns*, slightly turned to the right and inclined 1801. C. L. Cardon auction, Brussels, 1921, No. 25 (35 × 25). • Sold with the M.L.W.*** collection, at Fiévez's, Brussels, 18-19 December 1928, Lot 42; 35.5 × 26.5 cm.

a. (Plate 42) Art market, Paris (Lucas Moreno, 1924; 32 × 22). From Spain. The hands here appear at the lower edge. • Apparently was later in the collection of Count de Demandolx-Dedons, Marseille.

36. (Plate 43) *The Fall of Man.* Leopold Hirsch collection, London. Adam and Eve at either side of a tree in the centre. A free imitation of the diptych wing in Vienna (No. 4, above). By a follower of Hugo. • Now in the John B. Kidston collection, Basingstoke, Hampshire; 48 × 31 cm.

a. Art market, Munich, 1920. A close replica, somewhat drier in execution. • Probably identical with a painting in 1937 in the collection of the late M. Schneider, Mannheim.

b. (Plate 43) Collection of Count Beissel von Gymnich, Frens castle (45 × 32). A close replica, much like a. Exhibited in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 1416. Reproduced in *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, Vol. 4, p. 70, Pl. VII. • Now in the Wilhelm Hack collection, Cologne-Bayenthal.

The following pictures, Nos. 37-42, are by a follower of Hugo whom I call the Bruges Master of 1499 and who repeats compositions of the Ghent master in pedantic miniaturelike execution. At least a few of his works are literal transcriptions.

37. (Plate 44) *The Virgin in a Church*, after Jan van Eyck (811), a diptych with Chrétien de Hondt (1496-1509) as the donor. Verso, painted at a later date by another hand, a *Salvator Mundi* with Robert Leclercq as the donor. Antwerp museum, Ertborn collection, Nos. 255, 256, 530 (31 × 15 each). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 118. • The verso of the right panel, with Robert Leclercq, bears No. 531.

Since this small altarpiece comes from the Abbey of Notre Dame des Dunes near Bruges, the master presumably worked in Bruges.

38. (Plate 45) *Virgin Enthroned, with Four Female Saints.* Benziger collection, Solothurn. Reproduced in *Les Arts Anciens de Flandre*, Vol. 1, 1905. This composition, perhaps going back to van der Goes, was often repeated in panels and miniatures (as late as the Grimani codex) 1821 (Plate 45), e.g. by Isenbrant in a panel owned by Count Arco-Valley in Munich 1831. Cf. the drawing at Dresden (Plate 45) (Woermann's catalogue, Vol. 1, p. 5) 1841. • The Solothurn panel is now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, A. and M. Glasgow Fund, Richmond, Virginia, Acc. No. 57-39; 99 × 59 cm.

39. (Plate 46) *Altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin*, with many saints and representatives of Christendom; verso, in grisaille, an *Annunciation*. Buckingham Palace, London, formerly in the Öttingen-Wallerstein collection (102 × 65—27.5). Reproduced in *Arundel Club*, 1907, Pl. 55. An important composition, almost certainly going back to Hugo.

40. (Plate 47) *Holy Family.* Antwerp museum, Ertborn collection, No. 558 (42.8 × 36.5). Possibly a copy after van der Goes, in any event by this imitator. Reproduced in *Berliner Amtliche Berichte*, January 1916.

41. (Plate 47) *Virgin, with a Donor Couple.* Louvre, Paris, Bancel gift, No. 998D (71 × 55). Erroneously attributed to Jean Perréal, on the basis of the initials I.P., which relate to the donor. • No. Inv. R.F. 2370.

42. (Plate 47) *Annunciation.* Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. A diptych, both
76 wings rounded at the top. Reproduced in *Berliner Amtliche Berichte,* January 1916. • Now in the Staatliche Museen, Bode Museum, Berlin (East), No. 548; 15.5 × 9.5 cm each.

The following pictures are from the brush of an excellent master who flourished about 1490 and follows van der Goes's types closely, although he does not seem to have copied him. I have tentatively named him the Master of the Khanenko Adoration.

43. (Plate 48) *Diptych with an Adoration.* Khanenko collection, Kiev (each panel 26.8 × 16.3). Exhibited in St. Petersburg in 1908, No. 9 in the catalogue of this exhibition (p. 34). • Now in the National Museum of Fine Arts, Khanenko collection, Kiev, Cat. No. 74 (1961); 28 × 17.5 cm.

44. (Plate 48) *Virgin in Half-Length,* on a gold ground. Dessau castle, formerly in the Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz (28 × 20.5). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 210. Photo Braun No. 31710. • Now in the Staatliche Galerie, Schloss Georgium, Dessau, 34 × 26 cm.

45. (Plate 49) *Altarpiece of the Adoration.* Chaix d'Est-Ange collection, Paris. Reproduced in *Les Arts,* July 1907, p. 14. • Now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Saint-Omer, 29 × 21—9 cm.

46. (Plate 48) *Virgin in Full-Length,* outdoors. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, No. 119 (58.2 × 45.4). • Inv. No. 740.

CATALOGUE C: WORKS BY MASTERS PRESUMED TO HAVE FLOURISHED IN BRUSSELS BETWEEN 1470 AND 1500 [85]

I. THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. CATHERINE [86]

47. (Plate 50) *Legend of St. Catherine.* Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1923; 120 × 100) 1871. o Now in the collection of Baron van der Elst, Vienna. • Now in a private collection, Geneva.

48. (Plate 51) *Altarpiece:* centre: *The Last Supper;* left shutter, *The Jewish Passover Feast;* right shutter, *Elijah Fed by the Angel.* Seminary, Bruges. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 42 (96 × 77—34).

49. (Plates 52, 53) *Altarpiece:* centre: *The Feeding of the Ten Thousand;* left shutter, *Christ Turning Water into Wine;* right shutter, *The Raising of Lazarus;* verso of the shutters, *Virgin and Child on the Flight into Egypt, St. Peter.* Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria (109 × 69—34). • 113 × 83—35.8 cm.

Cf. *Burlington Magazine*, 1922, pp. 163 ff., on the portraits, especially those in the left interior shutter. Four masters can be distinguished as having worked on this altarpiece 1881.

A. The Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, who did the central panel.

B. A younger master, also identifiable as a portraitist elsewhere, who did the left interior shutter. He flourished about 1490, probably in Brussels.

C. A mediocre master, who did the right shutter, both inside and outside.

D. The Master of the Legend of the Magdalene, who did the outside of the left shutter.

50. (Plate 54) *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin, St. John and Three Female Mourners.* Prado, Madrid, P. Bosch collection. Exhibited at the Guildhall, London, 1906, No. 8 (39 × 28). Based in part on the altarpiece by Rogier at Vienna. • No. 2663; 100 × 71 cm.

51. (Plate 55) *Altarpiece:* centre, *The Deposition;* left shutter, *Donor* (with a coat of arms) *with St. Jerome;* right shutter, *The Resurrection;* verso, in grisaille, *The Annunciation* 1891. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, on loan from the Franciscan monastery in Cologne (129 × 94—43). • Depot No. 29.

52. (Plate 54) *Two Shutters of an Altarpiece: The Annunciation; The Presentation at the Temple* 1901. Bargello, Florence, Carrand collection, Nos. 29 and 30 (each panel 50 × 30).

53. (Plate 54) *Two Shutters of an Altarpiece: St. Margaret; An Episcopal Saint* 1911. Paul Baerwald collection, New York. • Now in a private collection, Geneva; 35 × 12.7 cm (each, original frame included).

54. (Plate 56) *Altarpiece:* centre, *Virgin, Seated on the Ground in a Hall*—with two female saints, a castle courtyard with gardens in the background; left shutter, *The Mass of Pope Gregory;* the right shutter missing. Capilla Real, Granada (75 × 59—34). • 77.7 × 60.4—77.5 × 31.9 cm.

a. (Plate 56) Mauritshuis, The Hague, on loan from J. H. van Heek. A close replica of approximately equal merit, including the right shutter, missing in Granada, showing St. Ildefonso with a donor 1921 (87 × 71—32). • Now in the Estate of the late J. H. van Heek, 's Heerenberg, Gelderland.

55. (Plate 57) *Altarpiece:* centre, *The Virgin Enthroned, with Angels;* left shutter, *St. Catherine;* right shutter, *St. Agnes.* M. Schiff collection, New York, formerly in the R. Traumann collection, Madrid. o Now in private hands in France. • Now in the Musées de la Ville de Bourges, Bourges (on loan from the Musée du Louvre, D. 953.4.1); 77.5 × 42—75.5 × 22 cm.

56. (Plate 57) *Last Judgment.* Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 600 (65 × 35). Cf. Vol. II, No. 102 (1931). The upper part of the work is in pure Rogierian style. The added piece at the bottom, with the Wise and Foolish Virgins, is by a follower of Rogier, possibly an early work by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine; cf. p. 60, above, where several are mentioned, which our master may have done in
78 Rogier's workshop. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

II. THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. BARBARA

57. (Plates 58, 59) *Altarpiece of The Legend of St. Barbara.* The central panel (71.25 × 119.5) was sold at the Earl of Ellenborough auction, London, in 1914, No. 108, and is on the Paris art market (A. Preyer). The left shutter is at the Confrérie du Saint-Sang at Bruges, and was exhibited in that city in 1902. No. 45 (73 × 62) 1941. • The central panel is now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, No. 1037; 73.5 × 124.5 cm.

Two drawings, constituting a design for a diptych, detail the legend in the same manner. One of them is in the Louvre—• Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20665; 198 × 143 mm—(Plate 59) (reproduced in my article on the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara in *Galls Jahrbuch*, 1924, pp. 20 ff.). The other is in the Morgan Library, New York—• 287 × 127 mm—(Plate 59) (reproduced in J. P. Morgan, *Collection of Drawings*, Vol. 3, Pl. 127, London, 1912).

58. (Plate 60) *A Saint Preaching.* Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey, 1926; 68 × 50). • Now in the Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

59. (Plate 60) *Betrothal of a Saint.* Collection of Count Fürstenberg-Herdringen, Herdringen, Westphalia (70 × 41). Reproduced in *Inventar der Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler Westfalens*, Kreis Arnsberg, Pl. 40 (1951).

60. (Plate 60) *St. Ursula with Virgins and Companions Beneath a Canopy.* Dr. F. Baumgarten collection, Budapest (38 × 27). From the Hollitscher collection, Berlin, No. 17 in its catalogue.

61. (Plate 60) *Shutters of a Carved Altarpiece:* Emperor Henry II with the donor; St. James (?) 1961 with the donatrix (68 × 27 each). In the possession of Freiherr von Thüngen, Rossbach castle, Lower Franconia, formerly in the possession of Freiherr von Radowitz.

62. (Plate 61) *Jesus in the Temple.* Munich auction of 3rd May 1909, No. 2 (109 × 43). Verso, *St. John the Evangelist.*

63. (Plate 61) *Henry II Fighting the Infidels.* Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster, No. 239 (72 × 74.5). Cf. No. 64, following, which lists the opposing shutter 1971.

64. (Plate 61) *Coronation of Henry* II *and Consecration of his Sword.* Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, No. 100 (71 × 74.5). Extensively restored (98).

65. (Plate 62) *Virgin Enthroned, with Five Angels.* Berlin art market (1912; 62 × 43). Slightly restored. • Now in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Max Stern, Montreal, 62.2 × 43.8 cm.

66. (Plate 62) *Scene from the Legend of St. Nicolas of Bari (?).* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 342 (97 × 69). This scene has been erroneously interpreted as relating to Solomon's pagan worship (99). Cf. next entry. • On loan to the Mauritshuis, The Hague.

67. (Plate 62) *St. Nicolas or Bari, Performing two Miracles of Healing.* Dublin museum, No. 360 (97 × 69). Cf. my article, *loc. cit.*, where several works of this master are reproduced (100). • National Gallery of Ireland, Cat. No. 360; 97 × 66 cm.

68. (Plate 63) *Two Shutters from a Lost Altarpiece of the Adoration:* Friedsam collection, New York (each panel 90 × 42). *The Queen of Sheba before Solomon; The Messengers before Hezekiah, with Four Donors;* verso, in grisaille, *The Annunciation* (101). From the Ch. L. Cardon collection. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 110. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Friedsam collection, Acc. No. 32.100. 56A, B, C and D; 93.3 × 44.8 cm.

69. (Plates 64, 65) *Altarpiece of Job.* Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, No. 422, from the Feschenbach collection. Four panels of equal size (87 × 86), two of which are painted on both sides: *The Story of St. Peter; The Visitation; The Story of Job* (two panels). Verso of the two corner panels, in grisaille: St. Peter, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene and Job. This altarpiece was begun in the workshop of the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. The donor was Claudio Villa with his wife Gentina Solaro. Cf. Schnütgen and Jos. Destrée in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst,* Vol. 2, 1889, col. 49 ff., and Vol. 6, 1893, col. 33 ff.; also pp. 59–60, above (102). • Nos. 409–412; 118 × 87 cm each.

III. THE MASTER OF SAINTE GUDULE

70. (Plate 66) *A Saint Preaching.* Louvre, No. 2198 (95 × 68). In the background. the church of St. Gudula, Brussels (104). The dimensions are strikingly similar to Nos. 66 and 67. Cf. Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler,* Vol. 1, pp. 309 ff.

71. (Plate 67) *Sts. Elizabeth, Catherine and Rosalie (?).* Metropolitan Museum, New York, Dreicer collection, Sch. 61–1 (44 × 46). Reproduced in *Arundel Club,* No. 8 (as a Schongauer, in the Murray Guthrie collection). In the catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum the saints are identified as Walburga, Catherine and Dorothy. • Sold at Christie's, London, 24 March 1961, Lot 62; 42 × 44.5 cm.

72. (Plate 67) *The Clothing of the Beggars* (105). Art market, Brussels, 1905. o Sub-

sequently sold in the Figdor auction, Berlin, 1930; now in the Schloss Rohoncz Collection (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza), Lugano, 65 × 41. • Cat. No. 276; 63.5 × 41.5 cm.

73. (Plate 67) *Virgin with the Magdalene and a Kneeling Donatrix.* Diocesan museum,
80 Liège [1061. • 56 × 49 cm.

74. (Plate 68) *Four Panels of the Passion of Christ; The Scourging of Christ; Christ Crowned with Thorns; The Resurrection; Christ Appearing to His Mother.* Art market, Paris, 1924. On the crude side, possibly workshop products [107]. • Sold at New York, Parke-Bernet, Hartveld Auction, 15 November 1950, Lot 16 (this lot included two scenes only); probably now in the Estate of the Late G. Butler Sherwell; 46 × 25.5 cm.

75. (Plate 68) *Altarpiece with the Story of the Virgin.* Private collection, Paris, formerly in the M. Heckscher collection, Berlin. o This work has now been given to the small museum of the Paris medical faculty (113 × 84—38).

76. (Plate 69) *Portrait of a Young Man with a Heart-Shaped Prayer Book.* National Gallery, London, No. 2612 (Salting Bequest; 22 × 14); Magniac auction, 1892, No. 35.

77. (Plate 69) *Portrait of a Young Man with a Heart-Shaped Prayer Book.* Dessau castle, formerly in the Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz. Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 143 (20.5 × 12.5). o Subsequently on the Paris art market. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 50.145.27.

78. (Plate 69) *Betrothal of the Virgin.* Tietje collection, Amsterdam (57 × 42). No. 220 in the Amsterdam auction of June 1925. This composition recurs repeatedly, for example on the painted shutter of a carved altarpiece from Brussels, sold as No. 2260 in the Dr. Wangemann auction, Cologne. • Now in the Bisschoppelijk Museum, Haarlem; on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, No. NK. 2577; 60 × 45 cm.

IV. THE MASTER OF THE JOSEPH SEQUENCE

79. (Plates 70, 71) *Story of Joseph in Tondi.* Four panels in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, Nos. 539A, B, C and D (each 153 in diameter). No. 539D, erroneously called *Esther Interceding with Ahasuerus*, does not seem to fit the Joseph legend [108]. Two further panels are in private hands in Worms. • The four Berlin panels are now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode Museum), Berlin (East). One of the panels from Worms *(Joseph Interpreting the Dreams)* is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 53.168. The other panel from Worms *(Joseph and Potiphar's Wife)* is now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Alte Pinakothek), Munich, Inv. No. 13180.

80. (Plates 72, 73) *Polyptych Altarpiece with Scenes from the Life of the Virgin.* Eight panels with ten representations. Brussels museum, Nos. 552A-D (144 × 85, 150 × 118, 148 × 58). Cf. p. 63, above, on the presumed proper order of the panels. From the Abbey of Afflighem, near Alost. An inscription on the panel of the *Circumcision* [1109]. • Cat. No. 552a-h; dimensions are given in Note 109.

81. (Plate 75) *Altarpiece of the Nativity*, shown at the middle of the centrepiece. Kinnaird Castle, Scotland. Judging solely from photographs, this work seems to be by the Brussels Master of the Joseph Sequence [1101]. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 49.109; central panel: 139.8 (84) × 193.2 cm; upper wings: 45.5 × 19.8 cm; lower wings: 85.3 × 42.2 cm.

82. (Plate 74) *Altarpiece*: centre, *The Last Judgment;* left shutter, *Philip the Fair*, standing, in full-length; right shutter, *Joan the Mad*, his wife. Brussels museum, No. 557 (126 × 105—48). Verso of the shutters, Sts. Martin and Livinus. The centrepiece was acquired in Amsterdam in 1920, at auction, the shutters at the Middleton auction, London, in 1827. The altarpiece comes from the town hall of Zierickzee. It was done between 1496 and 1506, presumably a gift from Philip. It is in the manner of the Master of the Joseph Sequence.

83. *Portrait of Philip the Fair*

a. (Plate 76) Windsor Castle. Exhibited at the Toison d'Or show, Bruges, No. 35 [1111] (31 × 22).

b. (Plate 76) Louvre, Paris. Toison d'Or exhibition, Bruges, No. 34 [1112] (40 × 26). • Inv. No. 2085.

c. (Plate 76) Engel-Gros auction, Paris, 1921, No. 10 (30 × 31).

d. Collection of Dr. Nagel, Moscow. Similar to b. • May be identical with a version later in Berlin (Landoz, VII, 1934).

e. Art market, London. From the collection of Lord Taunton (31 × 18). • May be identical with a version now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. No. 1403 (1934); 32 × 21 cm.

f. (Plate 76) Staatliche Galerie, Vienna. Toison d'Or exhibition, Bruges, No. 37 [1113] (31 × 20).

g. Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz. Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 36 [1114] (18.5 × 15.5). A mid-16th-century copy. • Has left the museum.

On these portraits and still others, cf. the catalogue of the Toison d'Or exhibition of 1907, and *Les Arts Anciens de Flandre*, Vol. 3, pp. 85 ff. With the exception of c and g, all the specimens come from a single workshop, presumably that of Jacob van Lathem, mentioned as court painter to Philip [1115].

V. THE MASTER OF THE EMBROIDERED FOLIAGE [1116]

84. (Plate 77) *Virgin, Seated Outdoors.* Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 1925). Collection of Baron A. Oppenheim, Berlin auction of 1918, No. 9, where it was attributed to Gerard David (104 × 86). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 133. o Now in the Pröhl collection, Amsterdam. • E. Proehl collection (1968).

a. (Plate 78) Lille museum, No. 225 (114 × 95—45). Repeated, in the same orientation, as the centrepiece of a triptych, with shutters showing a music-making angel each [1171]. From the Béraudière collection, 1885, No. 110, Valenciennes exhibition, No. 221.

b. (Plate 79) Van Gelder collection, Uccle. In the same orientation. Different
82 in style. Formerly in the von Brenken collection, Wewer. • Present location unknown [1181]; 103 × 75 cm.

c. (Plate 79) Collection of the Earl of Crawford, London. In the same orientation. Similar to b. Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 132 (90.5 × 76). • Now in a private collection, London.

d. (Plate 79) Art market, Paris. In the same orientation. Markedly different in style, possibly an early work by Jan Provost. With a background taken from Rogier's St. Luke panel [1191. • Now in The Lehman Collection, New York; 99 × 66 cm.

85. (Plate 80) *Virgin, Seated Outdoors.* The child leafing through a large prayer book with both hands. Art market, Paris (Stora, 1912; 78 × 61) [1201. o Now in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia. • Inv. No. 2518.

a. Art market, New York (Kleinberger, 1925). A replica by a Spanish master. An armorial bearing is included. The composition probably goes back to Rogier [1211.

b. (Plate 80) Art market, Paris (Lucas Moreno, 1926). A small replica [1221. • Now in the Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Yersey, Acc. No. 53.82; 113 × 57.5 cm.

86. (Plate 81) *Sts. Catherine and Barbara in Half-Length.* Two shutters of an altarpiece. Onnes collection, Nijenrode, No. 17 in the Amsterdam auction of 1923 (each panel 96 × 63). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, Nos. 404 and 405. • Now in the van Wickevoort-Crommelin collection, The Hague (1948).

87. (Plate 82) *Two Shutters of an Altarpiece:* Portraits of a man and his wife in half-length, with coats of arms; verso, Sts. Louis and Barbara [1231. Lille museum, No. 980 (each panel 73 × 68). Valenciennes exhibition, No. 222. • Each panel 73 × 34 cm.

88. (Plate 83) *Virgin and Child with Six Music-making Angels.* About 1890 in a private collection in Munich, subsequently lost sight of. o Now in the Paris art market (Féral). • Now in the R. J. Grog collection, Paris (1955), 175 × 135 cm.

89. (Plate 82) *Virgin Giving Suck, in Full-Length,* a copy from Rogier's St. Luke panel [1241. Art market, London (Spanish Gallery, 1912), from Spain. Two greyhounds on the lawn of the courtyard in the background, a peacock on the wall. Cf. p. 60 above, on the studies of dogs, that go back to Rogier's workshop and were also used by Memlinc in his small altarpiece in the Strasbourg museum. • Now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. George Forkes, New York, 85.6 × 71.3 cm.

90. (Plates 84, 85) *The Almighty with the Body of Christ and Angels.* Louvre, Paris, No. 1952 B (165 × 116). From the church of St. Denis in St.-Omer. The associated right shutter with the three Mourning Marys is also in the Louvre, No. 1952 C (165 × 61); verso, St. Barbara, arms of the Averhoult family. A signature along the hem of the Magdalen's robe reads: COLIIN DE COTER PINGIT ME IN BRABANCIA BRVSELLE [1251]. 83

91. (Plate 86) *Sts. Michael and Agnes.* Art market, New York (Knoedler, 1924; 120 × 80). Formerly in private hands in Spain. • Now in the Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings, Greenville, S. C., 154.3 × 79.4 cm.

92. (Plate 86) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows,* in half-length, with two angels. Formerly in the Ch. Oulmont collection, Paris. • Subsequently in the Aymonier Gallery, Paris (1946). Sold at Sotheby's, London, 10 July 1968, Lot 106; 35 × 25 cm.

93. (Plate 87) *Two Shutters of an Altarpiece:* Christ, kneeling, with Philip the Fair and clerics behind him; the Virgin, kneeling, with Johanna, Philip's wife, and holy women behind her [1261]. Masure-Six collection, Tourcoing (each panel 108 × 78). Exhibited at Bruges in 1907 at the Toison d'Or show, Pl. 14 in the catalogue of the show. ○ Now in the O. Scrive collection, Lille. • Now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. Nos. M.N.R. 376 and M.N.R. 375.

94. (Plate 88) *Last Judgment,* formerly in the church of St. Alban, Cologne. Four segments of the cut-down panel are preserved:

A and B: Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 1455, 1456: St. John the Baptist with a group of apostles (132 × 58); St. Peter escorting the blessed (130 × 58).

C: Virnich collection, Bonn: St. Michael (145 × 63).

D: Otto Giess collection, Cologne-Braunsfeld: The damned in hell (107 × 57). ○ Now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. • Inv. No. 524; 107 × 58 cm.

The panels are shown assembled in Cohen: *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch,* 1924, pp. 109 ff.

95. (Plate 89) *Deposition.* Stuttgart museum, No. 117 (89 × 58; the original panel, once rounded at the top, has been pieced out to become rectangular).

96. (Plate 89) *Mourning Magdalene,* in knee-length. Left shutter of an altarpiece of the Passion. Budapest museum, No. 684e (112 × 54). No. 83 in the Kaufmann auction, Berlin, 1917. Formerly in the Tabourier collection, Paris (said to come from the *cabinet de la reine d'Espagne* [1271].

97. (Plate 89) *St. John Weeping,* in knee-length. Right shutter of an altarpiece, pendant to No. 96. Art market, Paris, for some time in the Widener collection, Philadelphia (112 × 54). ○ Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

98. (Plate 90) *Virgin Crowned by Angels*, the child sitting at her feet. In private hands, West Germany (152 × 80). Published by E. Hensler, in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1924, pp. 117 ff. Signed: COLIIN DE COTER PINGIT ME IN BRVCCELLE. ○ Now in the collection of Dr. Henkel, Düsseldorf. ● Now in a private collection, Düsseldorf.

99. (Plate 91) *Virgin Crowned by Angels*, the child being offered a basket by an other angel. Art Institute, Chicago, Martin A. Ryerson collection (146 × 85). ● Inv. No. 33.1039; 152.1 × 88.6 cm.

100. (Plate 92) *Virgin with St. Luke.* Vieure near Moulins, France (135 × 108). Signed: COLIIN DE COTER PINGIT ME IN BRABANCIA [1281].

101. (Plate 93) *Deposition.* Museo Civico, Messina. Published in *Cicerone*, 1909, p. 29.

a. (Plate 93) De Jado collection, Bilbao. A free replica by another hand, more in Rogier's style (98 × 66).

102. (Plate 94) *Altarpiece of the Lamentation.* Berlin auction of 16th April 1912, No. 125 (120 × 85—40). Parts of this work are disfigured by restorations.

103. (Plate 94) *Adoration.* Church of Jerusalem, Bruges (ca. 80 × 60) [1291. ● Now in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, 88.5 × 72 cm.

104. (Plate 94) *Lamentation.* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 340 (35.5 × 43).

105. (Plate 100) *Central Panel of an Altarpiece*, with a *Nativity* and a *Circumcision.* Brussels museum, No. 541 (144 × 153, higher in the middle). Possibly by a follower of Colijn, in whose workshop shutters for carved altarpieces like those in Orsoy (Plate 100) (Rhine Province), Praust (Plate 101) [1301, etc., were executed.

106. (Plates 95-99) *Sequence of 25 panels with the Legend of St. Romuald.* Cathedral, Mechlin (each panel 140 × 70) [1311. Several masters worked on this sequence. A careful examination is almost impossible in the poorly lighted cathedral. In two panels of which only photographs are available I can distinguish the Master of the Guild of St. George, the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene [1321 and Colijn de Coter or one of his followers (cf. pp. 66-67, above; also Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *La Belgique*, p. 168 f.).

VII. THE MASTER OF THE GUILD OF ST. GEORGE IN MECHLIN

107. (Plate 99) *Group Portrait of the Members of the Guild of St. George*, with St. George, mounted, in the centre. Antwerp museum, No. 818 (106 × 74).

108. (Plate 100) *Portrait of Jan de Mol.* Art market, Paris, 1925 (43 × 18). With armorial bearing and inscription on the bottom of the original frame, dated 1498

1133). o Subsequently on the London Art market. • Now in the Courtauld Institute of Art, Lee collection, No. 18; 43 × 18 cm (without frame); in its present state, the height has been reduced to 29.8 cm.

109. (Plate 96) *A Pair of Donors,* in one of the pictures of the legend of St. Romuald. Church of St. Romuald, Mechlin. Apart from these donors, the panel is from the brush of Colijn de Coter or one of his followers.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUES

HUGO VAN DER GOES

Supp. 110. (Plate 106) *Head of Man.* Portrait of a Donor, fragment (1341. Metropolitan Museum, New York, Havemeyer Bequest (32 × 27). • Acc. No. 29.100.15

Supp. 111. (Plate 45) A drawing of a kneeling female saint by van der Goes has recently reached the Rosenthal collection and may now be in Berne (1351. • Now in the collection of Count A. Seilern, London, 234 × 185 mm.

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. CATHERINE

Supp. 112. (Plate 107) *Virgin, Seated, in Full-Length.* New York auction of 1928, previously in private hands in Bilbao. • Now in the R. Finck collection, Brussels (1968), 41.8 × 30.4 cm.

Supp. 113. *Deposition,* the oft-copied composition by Rogier (Volume II, No. 98a, Plate 111). Buckingham Palace, London.

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. BARBARA

Supp. 114. (Plate 107) *Christ on the Cross,* votive panel (53 × 54). Dated 1491. Collection of the House of Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen, subsequently sold, present whereabouts unknown. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 2129; 56 × 54 cm.

Supp. 115. (Plate 107) *Double Portrait.* Collection of Viscount Bearsted, London (40 × 28). From a conversational statement by Hulin de Loo, this may be by the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. • Now in the Bearsted collection (National Trust), Upton House, Banbury.

THE MASTER OF SAINTE GUDULE

Supp. 116. (Plate 67) A panel at the Cluny museum, Paris, *The Liberation of the Prisoners* (70 × 47) is from the same series of 'Mercies' as No. 72 (1361. • Inv. No. 839; 80 × 46 cm.

Supp. 117. (Plate 108) *Virgin in the Temple.* Brussels museum, No. 863 (67 × 52).

Supp. 118. (Plate 108) *Resurrection.* Auction, Paris, February 1937. Executed with particular care [1371].

Supp. 119. (Plate 108) *Christ before Pilate.* Art market. Paris (Popoff, 1935; 105 × 53). Previously in an auction at Brussels, January 1931.

Supp. 120. (Plate 109) *Shutters of a Carved Altarpiece.* Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (centre, 77 × 57) [1381]. • Legs E. Peyre, 1905; 73 × 54.5 cm each.

Supp. 121. (Plate 108) *Two Scenes from the Passion: Christ Crowned with Thorns; The Scourging of Christ.* Muller auction, Amsterdam, April 1911, subsequently on the Cologne art market (each panel 46 × 26).

Supp. 122. (Plate 108) *Christ before Pilate,* fragment. Art market, Berlin, 1928 [1391]. • The right half with *Pilate Washing his Hands* is now in the Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Mass.

Supp. 123. (Plate 109) *St. Jerome in his Study.* Sjöstrand collection, Stockholm (58 × 42). • In 1945, was in the possession of the art dealer Durlacher Brothers, New York.

Supp. 124. (Plate 109) *Adoration.* Baltimore Museum of Art (56 × 41). • Bequest of Mrs. Saidie A. May.

Supp. 125. (Plate 110) *St. Catherine with the Philosophers.* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (37 × 30) • Inv. No. 1293. *St. Catherine Disputing with Clerics,* pendant to the preceding. Art market, Munich (Heinemann, 1936) [1401]. • Sold at Christie's, London, 24 November 1967, Lot 83; 35.6 × 29.2 cm.

Supp. 126. (Plate 110) *Shutter painted on both sides: The Legend of St. James.* Art market, Berlin (Matthiesen, 1931; 91 × 48). • The panel has been sawn in its thickness and the sides have been sold separately, *St. James and the Pilgrims,* at Lempertz', Cologne, 5–7 May 1960, Lot 42; *The Judgment of St. James* at Sotheby's, London, 10 July 1968, Lot. 64.

Supp. 127. *Virgin and Child in Half-Length.* Art market, Paris, Wildenstein, 1921. After Rogier van der Weyden. Identical with No. 109a, Plate 121, in volume II [1411].

THE MASTER OF THE EMBROIDERED FOLIAGE

Supp. 128. (Plate 82) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length,* the central panel that belongs with the shutters listed as No. 87. In private hands in Munich. • Subsequently in the possession of the art dealer Xavier Scheidwimmer, Munich (1954), 66 × 57 cm (cut at the top).

Supp. 129. (Plate 111) *Altarpiece: The Virgin with Angels;* on the shutters, Sts. Barbara and Catherine. Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, Polizzi Generosa, Sicily (158 × 123—57) 11421. • Now in the Chiesa Madre, Polizzi Generosa, 158 × 123—162 × 57 cm.

Supp. 130. (Plate 111) *Lamentation.* Amiens museum 11431. • Musée de Picardie, 87 Legs Maignan-Larivière, 46 × 37 cm.

Supp. 131. (Plate 111) *Sts. Jerome and Catherine.* Art market, Paris (Perdoux, 1936; 84 × 61).

COLIJN DE COTER

Supp. 132. (Plate 112) *Entombment.* Houtart collection, Monceau-sur-Sambre. • Present whereabouts unknown. A fragment? 85 × 65 cm.

Supp. 133. (Plate 112) *Christ and the Sorrowing Virgin, in Half-Length.* Art Market, Paris. The *Mater Dolorosa* alone is in the Sickels collection, Paris. • 61 × 42 cm. The *Mater Dolorosa* may be identical with the panel sold at the Fischer Gallery, Lucerne, on 5 May 1936; the panel with Christ seems to have been in Lucerne in November 1937 (Photo Friedländer Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague).

Supp. 134. (Plate 112) *Entombment.* Art market, Brussels (de Heuvel; 89 × 76). • Now in the Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, Amsterdam (1950), Inv. No. 586.

Supp. 135. (Plate 112) Altarpiece Shutter: *Moses by the Red Sea;* verso, *Ecce Homo.* Art market, Brussels (Reder, 130 × 69). • Sold at Giroux, Brussels, 11 April 1951, 132 × 62 cm.

(from Volume XIV)

ADDENDA

o Add. 136. (Plate 9) *Deposition.* New York, Wildenstein Gallery, 53.1 × 38 cm (water colours on canvas). Hugo van der Goes, left wing of the diptych listed under No. 7. Cf. M.J. Friedländer, 'Van der Goes und Memling', in *Oud-Holland,* LXV, 1950, pp. 167-171.

• Add. 137. (Plate 113) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length.* Pavia, Museo Civico, 40.5 × 27 cm (water colours on canvas). Hugo van der Goes. Cf. F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes,* Berlin, 1964, pp. 80-83.

• Add. 138. (Plate 114) *Christ Crowned with Thorns and Virgin at Prayers.* Toledo,

Museo Arqueológico Provincial, 74 × 104 cm (water colours on canvas, much damaged). Hugo van der Goes. Cf. Winkler, *Das Werk*... pp. 85-86.

• Add. 139. (Plate 114) *Virgin and Child, with an Angel Presenting the Instruments of the Passion.* Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Alte Pinakothek,
88 No. L. 821), on loan from the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, No. K.K. 11596; 54.4 × 42.7 cm (water colours on canvas). Hugo van der Goes. Cf. Winkler, *Das Werk*..., pp. 82-85.

• Add. 140. (Plate 115) *St. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin.* Lissabon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Inv. No. 1459; 104 × 62.5 cm (fragment). Copy after a lost original by Hugo van der Goes; there is a drawing of the same *St. Luke* (Plate 115) in Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Koenigs collection, No. N. 94; 200 × 125 mm, and an engraving by Antoon Wiericx, reproducing the whole composition, attributed to Quinten Massys (Plate 115). Cf. Winkler, *Das Werk*..., pp. 221-226.

o Add. 141. (Plate 116) *Nativity, at Night, with two Shepherds.* Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. 904; 57 × 41 cm. Copy after a lost original by Hugo van der Goes. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, [Note on the Birth of Christ by Master Michiel], in *Bulletin of the Bachstitz Gallery. The Hague*, The Hague, (1935), p. 28, and Winkler, *Das Werk*..., pp. 141-154.

• Add. 142. (Plate 116) *Nativity, at Night, with two Midwives.* London, National Gallery, No. 2159; 62 × 46 cm. Copy after a lost original by Hugo van der Goes (Friedländer had already traced this lost original from a more distant derivation, in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, LXI, 1927-1928, pp. 278-279) cf. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School* (3d ed.), London, 1968, pp. 58-59.

• Add. 143. (Plate 116) *Lamentation.* Madrid, Gomez-Moreno collection, 42 × 48 cm (original frame with traces of hinges). Best copy after a lost early work by Hugo van der Goes. Cf. Winkler, *Das Werk*..., pp. 103-111.

• Add. 144. (Plate 42) *Christ Crowned with Thorns.* Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte (The Luis A. Ferré Foundation, Inv. No. 60.0146; 35 × 26.7 cm. Best copy after a lost original by Hugo van der Goes. Cf. No. 35. Cf. J. S. Held, *European and American Paintings. Museo de Arte de Ponce*, Ponce, 1965, p. 79.

• Add. 145. (Plate 117) *Altarpiece with the Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus.* Reverse in grisaille; *a Bishop, Sts. Catherine, Hippolytus and Elizabeth.* Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (Walter M. Cabot Fund, acquired 1962), 87 × 134—60 cm. Anonymous master, strongly influenced by Hugo van der Goes. Cf. E. K. J. Reznicek, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi.* XVIII. *Mostra di Disegni Fiamminghi e Olandesi*, Florence, 1964, p. 14, and Winkler, *Das Werk*..., p. 291 and 296. See also Vol. III, p. 87, Note 37.

o Add. 146. (Plate 120, 121) *Polyptych of the Life of the Virgin.* Evora, Portugal, Museu Regional (central panel, 8 side panels and 6 predella panels) and Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (4 side panels); 277 × 155 cm (central panel), 188 × 100 cm (side panels, average dimensions, ± 8 cm), 74 × 103 cm (predella panels, 4 have been cut to a width of 87 cm). Master of Evora, partly after Hugo van der Goes (see No. 38). Cf. M.J. Friedländer, 'Eine Zeichnung von Hugo van der Goes', in *Pantheon* (Munich), XV, 1935, pp. 99–104, and L. Reis-Santos, *Obras-Primas da Pintura Flamenga dos Séculos* XV *e* XVI *em Portugal (Prefacio do Dr. Max J. Friedländer)*, Lisbon, 1953, pp. 67–72, Pl. VI–XX.

• Add. 147. (Plate 118) *Profile of Christ*, fragment (of a Coronation of the Virgin?). Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Cat. No. 528A; 18 × 13 cm. Bruges Master of 1499. Cf. M. Conway, 'A Head of Christ by John van Eyck', in *The Burlington Magazine*, XXXIX, 1921, pp. 253–254. See also C. de Tolnay, *Le Maître de Flémalle et les Frères van Eyck*, Brussels, 1939, p. 77, No. 2.

• Add. 148. (Plate 118) *Annunciation.* Hulshorst, Netherlands, W.H. de Monchy collection, 36 × 32 cm. Master of the Khanenko Adoration (Copy? Four or five later versions are known). Cf. P. Wescher, 'Paris...', in *Pantheon* (Munich), XXI, 1938, p. 35.

• Add. 149. (Plate 118) *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.* Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Carrand collection, No. 40; 74 × 47.5 cm (arched at the top). Master of the Legend of St. Catherine (?). Cf. C.L. Ragghianti, i.a., *Catalogo della Mostra d'Arte Fiamminga e Olandese dei Secoli* XV *e* XVI, Florence, 1948, p. 15, No. 11 (Sala III).

• Add. 150. (reproduced in Vol. II, Plate 124) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length.* Chesterfield, St. Louis, Missouri, Leicester B. Faust collection, 58 × 40 cm. Following a recent cleaning (1961), this appears to be a good work by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Cf. Vol. II, p. 86, No. 119, and p. 101, Note 113.

• Add. 151. (Plate 119) *Nativity.* Dijon, collection of Abbé Perrenet, 76 × 48 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Cf. the catalogue *Les plus Belles Œuvres des Collections de la Côte d'Or. Musée de Dijon, Palais des Etats de Bourgogne*, 1958 (Dijon, 1958), p. 19, No. 27.

• Add. 152. (Plate 119) *Adoration of the Kings.* Rome, Galleria Colonna, ca. 92 × 96 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Apparently formed a triptych with the wings in New York, No. 68. Cf. F. Zeri, 'Un trittico dell' Maestro della Leggenda de Santa Barbara', in *Paragone*, XI, 125, 1960, pp. 41–45.

• Add. 153. (Plate 119) *Christ at the Column of the Flagellation.* Amsterdam, Dr. H. Wetzlar collection, 54 × 29 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. In the margin of his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote at the end of the catalogue of the Master of St. Catherine (p. 139): *Chr. a.d. Säule: Wien, Handel—*

Photo (this photo still exists in the Friedländer Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague).

• Add. 154. (Plate 123) *Christ on the Cross with three Angels.* New York, Mrs. Jean Lambert collection, 66 × 37 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Cf. *Exposition*
90 *Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles 1935. Cinq Siècles d'Art.* I, *Peintures*, Brussels, 1935, p. 23, No. 51.

• Add. 155. (Plate 122) *Altarpiece of the Passion of Christ.* Geel, Belgium, Church of St. Dymphna, 254 × 587 cm (open, including the sculptured centrepiece). Painted wings by the Master of Sainte Gudule. Cf. R. A. d'Hulst, 'Le "Maître à la Vue de Ste. Gudule" et les Retables de la Passion de Geel et de Strangnäs II', in *Bruxelles au XVe Siècle*, Brussels, 1952, pp. 135-154.

o Add. 156. (Plate 123) *Betrothal of the Virgin.* London, Sir James Mann collection, 64 × 36 cm. Master of Sainte Gudule. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule, Nachträgliches' in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1939, p. 29, *and Musée Communal Groeninge-Bruges. L'Art Flamand dans les Collections Britanniques. Août-Septembre 1956*, Brussels, 1956, p. 30, No. 22.

• Add. 157. (Plate 69) *Betrothal of the Virgin.* Brussels, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Inv. No. 7559 (bought at Sotheby's, London, 10 July 1968, Lot 94), 41.8 × 27.6 cm. Master of Sainte Gudule. Cf. L. Ninane, 'Le Maître à la Vue de Sainte Gudule', in *10 Acquisitions Récentes. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bruxelles. 5/2-23/3 1969* (Brussels, 1969), No. 6-13.

o Add. 158. (Plate 110) *Resurrection of Christ.* Berlin, commerce, 1939; 65 × 52 cm (from a private collection, Vienna). Master of Sainte Gudule. Cf. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule...', p. 29.

o Add. 159. (Plate 118) Fragment of a *St. Ursula Protecting Maidens.* Cologne, sold at Lempertz's, 18th-20th November 1954, Lot 7; 41.5 × 39 cm. Master of the View of Sainte Gudule. Cf. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule...', p. 29.

• Add. 160. (Plate 123) *Two Scenes of the Legend of St. Barbara* (two wings from an altarpiece). Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery, Cat. No. 777-778; 97 × 39.7 cm. Master of the Joseph Sequence. Cf. E. S. King, 'Two Panels by the Master of the Joseph Legend', in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, VI, 1943, pp. 40-45.

o Add. 161. (Plate 104) *Portrait of Louis de Gruuthuse.* Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge-museum), Inv. No. 1557, Cat. No. 11-01; 36 × 25 cm. Master of the Portraits of Princes. Cf. H. Pauwels, *Groeninge-museum. Catalogus. Bijvoegsel 1964. Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Brugge*, Bruges, 1964, p. 3; see also A. J. B. (A. Janssens de Bisthoven), *Souvenirs Britanniques à Bruges. Exposition organisée par la Ville de Bruges... 1966. Catalogue*, Bruges, 1966, pp. 48-49, No. 14.

• Add. 162. (Plate 123) *Virgin and Child, in a Landscape.* Burgos, Museo de la Catedral, 115 × 72 cm (centrepiece of a triptych; the wings bear Latin inscriptions). Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Cf. VII *Centenario de la Catedral de Burgos. 1921. Catálogo General de la Exposición de Arte Retrospectivo*, Burgos, 1921, p. 29, No. 1231.

• Add. 163. (Plate 124) *Martyrdom of Sts. Crispin and Crispinian* (central panel of a polyptych). Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, No. Wil. 1521; 95.5 × 187.1 cm. Two right wings, with episodes from the same legend, Paris, L. Salavin collection, 97 × 37.5 cm each. Circle of the Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Cf. J. Białostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus*..., 9), Brussels, 1966, pp. 1–16.

o Add. 164. (Plate 95) *St. Romuald Taking Leave of his Parents* and *The Consecration of St. Romuald as a Bishop* (two scenes belonging to the series of the *Life of St. Romuald* in the cathedral at Mechlin, see No. 106). Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, No. 1380; 58 × 42 cm (cut on all sides) and 112 × 71 cm. Colijn de Coter and his workshop. Cf. *National Gallery of Ireland. 1864–1964. Centenary Exhibition. October–December, 1964*, Dublin, 1964, p. 17, Nos. 14 and 15. (Cleaned and restored in 1959–1960, see *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), IV, 1961, p. 221).

• Add. 165. (Plate 116) *St. Anthony Abbott at Half-Length.* San Francisco, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, (Gift of M.H. de Young Endowment Fund 54.681); 44.4 × 31.3 cm. Colijn de Coter. Cf. *M.H. de Young Memorial Museum. Illustrations of Selected Works*, San Francisco, California, 1950, p. 39.

A few compositions by van der Goes have been often repeated. Winkler deals with them at length (1441; the principals follow:

No. 19, *Story of David and Abigail*, original lost (ca. 20 versions known)

No. 23, *Deposition*, in half-length figures, original lost (?), (the most frequently copied composition in early Netherlandish painting; close to 200 versions have been numbered)

No. 30, *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John*, Museo Civico Correr, Venice (a few)

No. 35, *Head of Christ Crowned with Thorns*, original lost (rather numerous; see also Add. 144)

No. 38, *Virgin Enthroned, with Four Female Saints*, original lost (numerous, see also Supp. 111)

Add. 141, *Nativity at Night, with two Shepherds*, original lost, (a few)

Add. 143, *Lamentation*, original lost (?) (around 10 copies)

Some compositions by Brussels masters included in the present volume have also been often repeated:

No. 83, *Portrait of Philip the Fair*, by the Master of the Joseph Sequence (or by the Master of the Magdalen Legend?) (numerous)

Supp. 130. *Lamentation*, by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage (a few)
Add. 148, *Annunciation*, by the Master of the Khanenko Adoration (a few)
Add. 165, *St. Anthony Abbot*, at bust-length, by Colijn de Coter (a few)

Editor's Note

Since 1937, a number of publications of importance have been devoted to Hugo van der Goes. The principal ones are by Oettinger [145], von Einem [146], Arndt [147] and Winkler [148]. The latter's monumental monograph brings together all that we know of the work of Hugo, its periphery and its influence. It extends our knowledge by giving us interesting reconstructions of compositions of which the originals are now lost; and it thus completes our general view of the work of this artist. It also offers abundant illustrations but unfortunately lacks a general bibliography.

Despite the fact that no signed work by Hugo van der Goes is preserved, nor any that is authenticated by a contemporary document [149], the group of works attributed to him are quite distinctive and the best among them, show a style so purely personal that their attribution is now never doubted. Hugo has had no 'Doppelgänger', at least until now, and no attempt has been made to carve up his œuvre. Only peripheral works have been challenged, especially the so-called early works and the small group ascribed to the Master of the Liechtenstein Altarpiece [150]. The Pembroke *Nativity* (No. 16) dated from the very end of his career, has been questioned as well. But these paintings, whatever their attribution, are not of sufficient importance much to affect the opinions on the nature of Hugo's work.

On the other hand, it is quite hard to establish a chronology for his whole œuvre. None of the paintings are dated, and the evidence that might help to do so is inconclusive. It is, of course, the Portinari altarpiece, that is the central point in Hugo's work and the pivot of the whole chronology.

At first glance, it should be rather easy to date the Portinari altarpiece on the basis of the number and apparent age of the donor's children. This is indeed the basis Warburg proposed in 1901-1902. Later on, this author was himself obliged to correct the sequence and the dates he had first proposed for the children [151], but none paid attention to this correction before Panofsky did so in 1953 [152]. Another factor to be taken into consideration here is the year Hugo ended his career in Ghent and entered the Abbey of the Red Cloister. According to Friedländer, this event took place shortly before 1st November 1475 [153]. Since then, De Schryver, relying on newly discovered documents, has set the date forward to 1478 [154]. Taking into account Friedländer's estimate of 'between 1473 and 1475' [155], the execution of the altarpiece has thus been variously placed between 1473 and 1480.

Here is a tabulation of the various opinions and their dates:

Oettinger, 1938 [156]	1474-1475 (shutters completed)
Schöne, 1939 [157]	1473-1475
Knipping, 1940 [158]	ca. 1480
von Einem, 1941-42 [159]	1473-1475
van Puyvelde, 1948 [160]	1474-1475
van Puyvelde, 1953 [161]	at the end of the artist's career

Panofsky, 1953 [162]	1475–1477
Held, 1955 [163]	1474–1475
De Schrijver, 1955–56 [164]	1476–1477
Denis, 1956 [165]	1474–1475
Pauwels, 1960 [166]	ca. 1475
Catal. Detroit 1960 [167]	ca. 1476–1477
Lavalleye, 1961 [168]	1474–1476
Arndt, 1964 [169]	1473–1475
Winkler, 1964 [170]	1475–1476
Grunzweig, 1964 [171]	1477–1480
Malkon, 1965 [172]	1476–1478
Arndt, 1965 [173]	1474–1475 (76?)
Cuttler, 1968 [174]	1474–1476
Davies, 1968 [175]	ca. 1475 or soon after
Musper, 1968 [176]	ca. 1475

It would seem that Friedländer's dating is slowly gaining ground again; but the reasons are complex and doubts remain.

The same is true of the whole question of the painter's chronology at best a knotty question that must be anchored to the Portinari altarpiece. Friedländer's chronology was attacked by Oettinger [177], who put the Vienna diptych (No. 4) and the Frankfurt *Virgin and Child* (No. 5) after the Portinari altarpiece and considered the Monforte altarpiece as the earliest masterpiece by van der Goes about which there could be no doubt. Oettinger explains the Italian influences he sees in the Monforte altarpiece by Hugo having taken a trip to Italy; and he believes that other works—now lost—of this earliest period would have shown this same influence. Although he was supported by Schöne [178] and, more recently, Arndt [179] and Musper [180], Oettinger was long sharply criticized, particularly by von Einem [181], Tolnay [182], Panofsky [183], Lavalleye [184] and Winkler [185]. Rey, however, is the only one who attempted to separate the Vienna diptych chronologically by dating the *Adam and Eve* panel before the Portinari altarpiece, the *Lamentation* after [186].

By and large, there is more dissent from Friedländer's attributions of peripheral works. Critics tend to be much less generous today, particularly in respect of the so-called early works. Of 20 paintings proposed by Friedländer as originals in his catalogue (see pp. 68–71 and 85) at least half are periodically disputed by one historian or an other, i.e. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 16 and 30. It is impossible to examine the dossier of each one in detail here, but the accompaying table gives an idea of how opinion has fluctuated over the past 30 years.

	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 6	No. 7	No. 8	No. 9	No. 13	No. 16	No. 30
Oettinger, 1938	o	o	?	o	o	o	o	x	x	o
Schöne, 1939	o	o				o	o		x	
von Einem, 1941–42	o	o	?	o	?	o	o		x	
Tolnay, 1944		o					o	o		
Boon, 1950–51 [187]		x								o
Panofsky, 1953	o	o			o		o	o	o	
Held, 1955		x					o	o		
Denis, 1956	x	x	x				x	x		x
Arndt, 1961	o	o	o	x	x	o	o			
Lavalleye, 1962	x	x	x	x	x	?	x	x	o	x
Arndt, 1964	o		o	x	x		o		o	
Winkler, 1964	o	o	?	?	x	o	o	x	o	o
Loewinson, 1965 [188]						x				
Boon, 1965 [189]		x				?				?
Cuttler, 1968	o	?	?				?	o		

By van der Goes: x. Not by van der Goes: o. Doubtful: ?

No. 1. *Virgin* Philadelphia
No. 2. *St. Anne* Brussels
No. 3. *Virgin* Brussels
No. 6. *Virgin* Cassel
No. 7. (+ Add. 136). Diptych Berlin/N.Y.
No. 8. Triptych Leningrad
No. 9. Triptych Liechtenstein
No. 13. Portrait New York
No. 16. *Nativity* Wilton House
No. 30. *Crucifixion* Correr, Venice

The only attempt to form some of these paintings into an independent group was undertaken by Oettinger [190]. He gave the makeshift name of Master of the Liechtenstein Altarpiece to the painter of this altarpiece (No. 9); and he believed the Brussels *St. Anne* (No. 2), the Leningrad triptych (No. 8) and, with some doubts, the wings of the Frankfurt *Virgin and Child* (No. 5), to be by the same hand.

On the other hand, the Oxford fragment of a *Lamentation* (No. 23c), considered by Friedländer as a copy, was placed among the originals by authors like Arndt [191] and paintings overlooked by Friedländer have been added to the list of van der Goes's works. Such are: *Christ and the Virgin of Sorrows*, Toledo (Add. 138) [192]; the *Virgin and Child*, Pavia (Add. 137) [193]; the *Passion-Madonna*, Munich-Nuremberg (Add. 139) [194] and, more doubtfully, the *Lamentation* in the Gomez-Moreno collection, Madrid (Add. 143) [195].

All the works attributed to van der Goes or to his immediate circle have been studied in detail by Winkler [196]. Some of them have been the subject of individual study. Friedländer himself, in 1946, wrote again on the subject of the three versions of the *Death of the Virgin* (Nos. 14 and 25, and p. 41 above), discussing them in conjunction with Petrus Christus's approach to the same subject [197]. A propos of the canvas diptych of the *Lamentation* (No. 7 and Add. 136), Friedländer also dealt with the relation between van der Goes and Memlinc [198]. He commented again in 1950 on the three paintings by Hugo preserved in the Berlin museum [199]. The paintings on canvas have been studied by Arndt [200], i.e. Nos. 6, 7, 23c, Add. 136, Add. 137, Add. 138 and Add. 139. Arndt also published a fine short essay on the Portinari altarpiece [201]. This author further analyzed the lost *Adoration of the Magi*, copied by Gerard David (No. 20) [202]. Dossiers of two paintings in the

van der Goes group have been published in the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands*, on the *Death of the Virgin* (No. 14), written by Janssens de Bisthoven [203], and on the Leningrad triptych (No. 16), by Loewinson-Lessing and Nicouline [204]. Schöne has discussed the St. Hippolytus altarpiece (No. 11; see also Vol. III, No. 29), painted by van der Goes in collaboration with Dieric Bouts [205].

96 Drawings connected with van der Goes's work are treated as a whole and in detail by Winkler [205]. As against Friedländer and Winkler who consider a restricted number of drawings originals by van der Goes's hand, Panofsky admits none as authentic [206]. Two authors have been concerned, although from different angles, with the underlying preparatory drawings in Goes's paintings: Boon [207] and Arndt [208]. The latter devoted a thorough study to the *Adoration of the Magi* by Gerard David after van der Goes (No. 20a), preserved in the Munich Pinakothek [209]. This article is based on a study of the underlying drawing, as revealed by infrared photography, and is important not only for the light it throws on such drawings and the whole creative process as well as the process of copying, but for the study and dating of this lost work by van der Goes, known only through Gerard David (No. 20a) and another copy, by an unidentified artist (No. 20b).

In the field of iconography, the significance of the columbine, a flower that often appears in Hugo's paintings, has been commented on by several writers, among them Fritz [210], Panofsky [211] and Aurenhammer [212]. The columbine together with other symbolic plants have been dealt with by Behling [213] and by Koch [214]. Walker [215] and McNamee [216] have studied the iconography of the Portinari altarpiece and the grisaille paintings on the outside of the shutters of this masterwork are included in a study by Philippot [217] on the evolution of grisaille in Flemish painting to the time of Rubens. Koch [218] and Kessler [219] have treated the iconography of the *Adam and Eve* panel of the Vienna diptych (No. 4). The influence of mystery plays on the painter's vision has been examined by Denis [220] and confirmed by Winkler [221].

Moerman's conclusions on the influence of van der Goes on the art of tapestry-weaving were rather on the negative side [222]. Whatever influence there may have been was indirect.

The history of the appreciation of Hugo's art and personality has been studied by Löhneysen [223] and Sulzberger [224].

Since Friedländer's time the psycho-pathology of the artist, known from the chronicle of Gaspard Ofhuys, has been discussed, by a number of authors. Dr. Van Acker [225] has offered an interesting medical diagnosis: The cyclothymic aspects of Hugo's mental affliction may indeed explain, at least in part, some of the difficulties encountered in dating the painter's works. Panofsky [226] has remarked on the coincidence between Hugo's disease and death and the appearance of Marsilio Ficino's theory of the congenital melancholia of genius. Reviewing Panofsky's book, Held added an inflexion to his somewhat abstract approach, asking that the human suffering should not be forgotten [227], while Duverger [228] introduces a new notion based on a document discovered by him: Hugo may have had a troubled past that haunted him. Others who have commented on Hugo's mental condition are Oettinger [229], Denis [230], Arndt [231], Cuttler [232], Musper [233], etc.

The followers of van der Goes proposed by Friedländer are the Master of 1499 and the Master of the Khanenko Adoration. The last volume (1950) of Thieme and Becker's dictionary [234] dealing with masters with makeshift names devotes entries to both these masters. Boon has attempted to identify the Master of the Khanenko Adoration as the Master of the Turin Crucifixion; he includes in the work of the latter *Emperor Augustus and the Sibyl* (No. 31) and a few other paintings [235]. The Master of 1499 was proposed by Winkler as early as 1916 [236] and was treated again by this author in 1964, when Winkler studied his paintings in relation with certain lost works by van der Goes [237]. The iconography of the *Salvator Mundi* on the Antwerp diptych (No. 37) by this master has been studied by Gottlieb [238]. Michel has analyzed his Louvre painting, the I.P. *Madonna* (No. 41) [239]. The painter judged by Friedländer to be 'by far the greatest master to be deeply influenced by Hugo' [240], the Master of Moulins, has since been the subject of numerous researches. His identification as Jean Perréal, initiated by Hulin and accepted by Friedländer, has not been upheld and quite a number of new identifications and groupings have been proposed; lastly Sterling and Reynaud strongly supported the identification with Jean Hey [241]. Finally, Juan de Flandes, whom Friedländer did not include in his *Altniederländische Malerei* because all his known works were done in Spain, has recently been studied by Vandevivere [242] who recognized his Ghent origin and suggested he was the same person as the Master of Mary of Burgundy [243].

Paintings by van der Goes and his circle have been exhibited several times since 1937, principally in Ghent [244], Bruges [245], Detroit [246], Dijon, Amsterdam and Brussels [247], London [248] and Paris [249]. Nos. 37, 38, 40, 42, 44, 45 and 46 are expected to be on exhibition at the *Anonymous Flemish Primitives*, held in Bruges in the summer 1969.

THE ART OF BRUSSELS IN THE TIME FROM 1470 TO 1500

This period was studied in the publication edited in 1953 on the occasion of the exhibition *Bruxelles au XVe siècle*. Some contributors to this publication are Brunard [250], d'Hulst [251], Lavalleye [252], Lebeer [253] and Mathieu [254]. The style of the Brussels masters after van der Weyden up to the end of the 15th century has been studied by Philippot from the point of view of their figurative conception [255].

A number of shutters and fragments of altarpieces qualify for inclusion in the school of Brussels such as a *God the Father with two Angels*, in Madrid, published by Lavalleye [256]; and two panels with angels, also in Madrid, published by the same author [257]. An exhibition of paintings by masters with makeshift names from the second half of the 15th century will be held in Bruges during the summer 1969. Nos. 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 63, 64, 69, 72, 73, 78, 82, 84, 84a, 87, Supp. 114, Supp. 117, Supp. 125, Supp. 130, Add. 157, Add. 161 and Add. 163, plus the portraits of Englebert de Nassau and Fonseca (see p. 59) are expected to be on exhibition.

In 1949 Friedländer reaffirmed his opinion on the identification of this master as Pieter van der Weyden, son of Rogier, as well as on the influence of Rogier on his pupil, in connection with the *Descent from the Cross* of the Franciscans in Cologne
98 (No. 51) [258]. In 1942 Winkler accepted the identification with Pieter van der Weyden as a plausible hypothesis [259]. In 1950, the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine was accorded an entry in Thieme and Becker's lexicon [260].

Some works of this master have been studied separately: the altarpiece in Granada and its replica in the Mauritshuis, the Hague (Nos. 54 and 54a), by Van Schoute [261]; while the altarpiece in Melbourne (No. 49), done in collaboration with other Brussels painters, was included by Hoff in her catalogue of the National Gallery of Victoria [262]—it had also been reconsidered by Friedländer himself in his vol. XII [263]. There, Friedländer changed his mind about the painters who did the shutters of this altarpiece, attributing the complete left shutter, obverse and reverse to the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. One of the wings of the *Altarpiece of Job* (No. 69)—another work done in collaboration—representing the *Visitation*, was part of the exhibition *Bruxelles au* XVe *Siècle* in 1953, as No. 54 [264].

THE MASTER OF THE PORTRAITS OF PRINCES

Around the left shutter in Melbourne (No. 49b) Friedländer had grouped (p. 59 above) the paintings he attributed to this master. But in 1935 he adopted the opinion of Hulin de Loo and Tombu [265] and included the Melbourne panel among the early works of the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Hoff [266] analyzed this panel and studied its iconography but reached no conclusion on its attribution. In 1950, the Master was accorded an entry in Thieme and Becker's lexicon [267].

The portrait in Rotterdam that came from Sigmaringen (Fonseca; see p. 59 above) has been taken away from the Master of the Portraits of Princes by Ring, who considers it to be Burgundian [268]. Wescher, on the other hand, added three portraits to the group, including an *Adolph of Cleves* (Berlin), which he compares with the portrait in the foreground of the left shutter of the Melbourne altarpiece [269].

The *Portrait of Engelbert of Nassau* (see p. 59, above) was on exhibition in 1951 in Dijon (as No. 37), in Amsterdam (as No. 21), and in Brussels (as No. 36) [270], together with the Rotterdam Fonseca portrait (see p. 59, above), the latter as No. 22 in Amsterdam and No. 37 in Brussels.

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. BARBARA

This artist too was given an entry in the lexicon of Thieme and Becker in 1950 [271]. The iconography of his basic work, the *Legend of St. Barbara* (No. 57), and the drawings associated with it was expound by de Gaiffier in 1957, after the left wing had been cleaned and treated. This cleaning revealed 12 figures which had been completely painted out and which had a role to play in the legend; de Gaiffier analyzes also hagiographical sources of the St. Barbara legend [272]. Zeri has pro-

posed the reconstitution of a triptych from the two wings preserved in New York (No. 68) and an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Galleria Colonna in Rome (Add. 152) [273]. This was accepted in the catalogue of the exhibition held in Detroit in 1960 [274]. Gibson, who also concurred, actually succeeded in identifying the enigmatic subject of the left wing in New York. By comparison with the *Biblia Pauperum*, he showed it to be *David Receiving Abner's Messenger* [275]. Certain scenes of the altarpiece of Job (No. 69), done in collaboration with the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, were iconographically studied by Denis who explained the role of Job as the patron of musicians [276]. In 1939, Friedländer accepted the iconographical identification of two panels (Nos. 66 and 67) as from the *Legend of St. Géry*. He also agreed that these panels belonged to the same altarpiece as the so-called *Instruction Pastorale* in the Louvre (No. 70), basic work of the Master of Sainte Gudule [277].

The *Legend of St. Barbara* (No. 57) has been on exhibition several times: the central panel in Paris in 1947 [278], as No. 55, and in Brussels in 1953 [279], as No. 50; the Bruges wing together with the Louvre drawing in Ghent in 1957 [280], as Nos. 68 and 68a; with the Pierpont-Morgan drawing in Bruges in 1960 [281], as Nos. 30 and 72, and in Detroit in 1960 [282], as Nos. 25 and 65. The scene from the Life of St. Géry, on loan to the Mauritshuis (No. 66), was exhibited in Brussels in 1953 [283], as No. 51. The two shutters in New York (No. 68) were displayed in 1960 in Bruges [284], as No. 31, and in Detroit [285], as No. 26.

THE MASTER OF SAINTE GUDULE

In 1939 Friedländer published another essay on the Master of Sainte Gudule, bringing him into better focus and commenting on some dates in his career [286]. He rejected the identification proposed by Tervarent that the Master of Sainte Gudule was actually Valentin van Orley, born 1466; but he followed Tervarent in accepting that the subject of the painter's basic work—the *Instruction Pastorale* in the Louvre (No. 70)—is the legend of St. Géry; he stuck to his view of a collaboration with the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara (Nos. 66 and 67) for this same ensemble of a legend of St. Géry. In this same article, Friedländer added three panels to the catalogue of the Master of Sainte Gudule (Add. 157, Add. 158 and Add. 159). The distinctive identity of this master has been emphasized by more than one critic, including Philippot [287]. In 1950 he was accorded an entry in Thieme and Becker's lexicon [288].

Michel analyzed the basic work, in the Louvre (No. 70) [289]. He also proposed the attribution to this painter of an *Annunciation in* the Brussels museum [290]. The Master of Sainte Gudule has also been dealt with as a painter of shutters for altarpieces with sculptured centres; d'Hulst attributed to him the wings of the important altarpiece in Geel (Add. 155) and, although only as a workshop work, the wings of one of the altarpieces in the cathedral of Strängnäs, Sweden [291]. A number of other such wings, some isolated or unpublished, might be added to his list. The *Portrait of a Young Man*, in London (No. 76), was exhaustively studied by Davies [292].

The basic work, the so-called *Instruction Pastorale* (No. 70) was on exhibition in 1947 in Paris at 'Les Primitifs Flamands' [293], as No. 60. *The Betrothal of the Virgin*,

in Haarlem (No. 78), was shown in 1953 in Brussels [294] as No. 52. The *Betrothal of the Virgin* from the collection James Mann (Add. 156) was exhibited in Bruges in 1956 [295], as No. 22. Lastly, the *Virgin with the Magdalene and a Kneeling Donatrix*, from Liege (No. 73), was shown in 1960 in Bruges [296], as No. 54, and in Detroit [297] as No. 27.

THE MASTER OF THE JOSEPH SEQUENCE

An entry was devoted to this master in the work of Thieme and Becker in 1950 [298]. Two wings preserved in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland (Add. 160) were studied by King and attributed to the same master [299]. The attribution to him of the altarpiece of the Nativity (No. 81) given to him by Friedländer in Vol. IV (1926), was quite properly taken back in Vol. XIV (1937). This work, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is the subject of a publication by Rousseau [300]. Baes-Dondeyne has recently found the shutter that was missing (see Plate 75) [301]. Van Roy has associated the subject of the Affligem altarpiece (No. 80) with the cult of the Seven Sorrows of Mary and tentatively identified the donor as Giselbertus de Marselaer, dating the work about 1493. Contrary to Hulin de Loo, van Roy agrees with Friedländer in a tentative identification of the master as Jacob van Laethem, Brussels court painter [302]. Anzelewski has been interested in the Brussels cityscape represented in the background of the wings of the Zierickzee altarpiece (No. 82) [303]. Marlier believes that the rocks could be seen in two of the landscapes of the Affligem altar (No. 80) bear human features [304]. Friedländer himself in Vol. XIV (see p. 81, above, and Note 115), apportioned the portraits of Philip the Fair (No. 83) between the Master of the Joseph Sequence and the Master of the Magdalene Legend. These portraits have been studied by Wescher [305] and by Onghena [306].

In 1951, the wings of the altarpiece of Zierickzee (No. 82) and the *Portrait of Philip the Fair* of Vienna (No. 83f) were on exhibition in Dijon [307], as No. 33-34 and 41, in Amsterdam [308], as Nos. 18-19 and 17, and in Brussels [309], as Nos. 35-35 and 41. The portrait (No. 83f) was also included in 1947 in the exhibition of masterpieces from the Vienna museums in Brussels [310], as no. 62. One of the panels of the Affligem altarpiece (No. 80), representing the *Circumcision* was exhibited in the show, *Bruxelles au* XVe *Siècle* [311] in 1953, as No. 48.

THE MASTER OF THE EMBROIDERED FOLIAGE

The *chef d'œuvre* of this master, the altarpiece of Polizzi Generosa (Supp. 129) remained little known for a long time. It was introduced by Friedländer in his catalogue only in 1937, but then qualified as 'a major work' (see p. 87, above, and Note 142). This triptych has been recently studied in detail by Carandente [312]. In 1940 Pirro identified the motet sung by the angels on the central panel as the *Ave Regina Coelorum* by Walther Frey; the same music is inscribed on a book held by the angels in the painting in the Grog collection (No. 88) [313]. Larsen tentatively attributed to this master a *Lamentation* bearing the monogram A. DR. [314]. The rôle he played in the painting of the Melbourne triptych (No. 49) was taken up

again by Friedländer in 1935 [315] and by Hoff [316] (see also p. 94, above, under Master of the Legend of St. Catherine). Białostocki was the first to establish a relation between the Melbourne right wing by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage and the *Martyrdom of the Sts Crispin and Crispinian* in Warsaw (Add. 163); he included this latter painting in the group of this master and published its complete dossier [317]. The master was treated in 1950 in Thieme and Becker's lexicon [318], where a St. Christopher in the Dresden museum is also attributed to him.

A *Virgin and Child* after Rogier by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage (No. 89) was on exhibition in Bruges in 1956 [319] as No. 6.

COLIJN DE COTER

In 1937, at the same time as Friedländer's Volume XIV, an important monograph by Maquet-Tombu on Colijn de Coter was published [320]. This author studied the life and the work of the painter in detail. Since then a number of his paintings have been studied occasionally. Folie dealt with the three signed paintings by Colijn de Coter (Nos. 90, 98 and 100) when analyzing the authenticated works by Flemish Primitives [321]. The donors of the altarpiece of Saint-Omer (No. 90) were identified in an article by le Maire [322]; this altarpiece was included by Michel in his *Catalogue Raisonné* [323] and its complete dossier was published by Adhémar [324], while Taubert [325] examined the relation of this version of the *Trinity of the Broken Body* with the original created by the Master of Flémalle (see Vol. II, No. 71). The two panels in the Louvre with Philip the Fair and Joan the Mad (No. 93) have been dealt with by Onghena [326] and especially by Adhémar who proposed a reconstitution of the original altarpiece [327] and published their complete dossier in the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands* [328]. Panofsky considered the *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* in Vieure (No. 100) a reflection of a lost work by the Master of Flémalle [329]. This idea was accepted and developed by Eisler [330]. The iconography of the mirror that can be seen in this scene has been analyzed by Schwarz [331]. The *Descent from the Cross* in Stuttgart (No. 95) was commented on by Pauwels [332]; the version in Messina (No. 101), by Carandente [333] and the *Lamentation* in Amsterdam (No. 104), by de Mesquita [334]. The iconography of two panels from the sequence of the *Legend of St. Romuald* in Mechlin (No. 106) and of a related panel preserved in Moscow has been treated by Libman [335] and by Pantens [336]. The same two panels in Mechlin have been compared with stained glasses by Arnold of Nijmegen in the Tournai cathedral, by Wayment [337] who thinks they came from the same artistic circle.

The altarpiece from Pruszcz (Praust; see p. 66, above) was studied thoroughly by Białostocki [338]. The restoration of the Orsoy altarpiece (see p. 66, above) has been commented upon by Kisky [339]. The attribution of a painting not mentioned by Friedländer, the *Fons Vitae* preserved in Porto, was first discarded by Maquet-Tombu [340], then asserted by Reis Santos [341], to be subsequently doubted by Eisler [342].

This master's basic work, the *Mechlin Guild of St. George* (No. 107), has been analyzed by Delen [343]. The *Portrait of Jan de Mol* (No. 108) was attributed to van der Goes by Fürst [344] but given back to the Master of the Guild of St. George and
102 thoroughly studied by Murray [345]. The artist was treated in 1950, in Thieme and Becker's lexicon [346].

Notes

1. In the original edition, Plate III, however defective, shows the painting before restoration. The bird is visible. Jos. Destrée has contended that what now looks like a pine cone is actually the original, the bird being the work of a restorer ('Une Vierge de Hugo van der Goes' in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1929, pp. 82–89). J. Lavalleye (*Hugo van der Goes*, Brussels, 1962, p. 37) agrees with Destrée.

2. A careful examination of the gilt background ornamented with red dots has shown that it underlies the figure of the Child in some places, i.e. around the head and part of the linen to the right. No traces of a landscape or of any different composition appear in the X-ray picture. The execution of the background in the central panel is obviously of much higher quality than on the shutters (letter from Dr. Eich, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, 23rd August 1968).

3. In reality, a *Circumcision*.

4. In 1960, this work was with Wildenstein and Co., New York. 230 × 180 mm. The subject is another episode in the story of Jacob (*Gen.* XXX and XXXI). See *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch... The Detroit Institute of Arts... 1960*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 215–216, ill.

5. Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Rosenwald collection) Acc. No. B-17.724; 205 × 164 mm.

6. In the original edition, *left*, a misstatement for *right*.

7. Vol. II. No. 74d, now in the collection of the late Baronne Gendebien, Brussels. Another version, very close indeed to the Master of the Khanenko Adoration and not listed in Vol. II, is preserved in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, No. 196 (Cat. 1949), 45.7 × 34.9 cm.

8. A search at the Museo Civico and the Biblioteca Reale has not succeeded in tracing this drawing (letter from Prof. M. Bersano Begey, Soprintendente at the Soprintendenza Bibliografica per il Piemonte, 28th September 1968).

9. Vol. VI, No. 115; in 1958 this work was in the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden; central panel, 47 × 31 cm, without the original frame. Present whereabouts unknown.

10. Sold at Sotheby's, London, on 24th–25th April, 1918, Lot 252. In 1934 this work seems to have been with the art dealer M. Marignane, Paris. See K. G. Boon, 'Naar Aanleiding van Tekeningen van Hugo van der Goes en zijn School', in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950–1951, p. 93, Note 1.

11. This drawing suffered greatly during the war and is now in a ruinous state. The Prestel reproduction was unfortunately made from a copy and not from the original drawing (letter from Dr. Chr. von Heusinger, Curator, Kunsthalle, Bremen, 8th August 1968). Plate 103 shows the damaged original and the Prestel reproduction side by side.

12. In the original edition *vorstellbar*, probably meant to be *unvorstellbar*.

13. In the original edition *linken*, a misstatement for *rechten*.

14. Now in the von Pannwitz collection, Brazil and New York. Vol. II, No. 19 (and not 18, as stated in the original edition).

15. In the original edition, *rechts*, a misstatement for *links*.

16. Vol. II, No. 16.

17. Vol. II, No. 49.

18. Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1538. W1; 25.5 × 16 cm.

19. Inv. No. Mo. 1321; 22.5 × 14 cm. Now lost. See J. Białostocki and M. Walicki, *Europäische Malerei in Polnischen Sammlungen. 1300–1800*, Warsaw, 1956, p. 475, No. 47, ill.

20. Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Cat. No. 2311; on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, Inv. No. N.K. 2661; 39 × 29.5 cm. The sitter is said to be a member of the Spanish family Fonseca. See *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Catalogus Schilderijen tot 1800*, Rotterdam, 1962, p. 88.

21. See Vol. VIII (p. 147 in the original edition), XII (pp. 15 ff. in the original edition and XIV (p. 127 in the original edition).

22. Vol. VI, No. 21.

23. No. 89 in the present volume and Add. 137 in Vol. II.

24. Later, in his Vol. XIV (1937), p. 87, Friedländer attributed this painting to Vrancke van der Stockt (see Vol. II of the present edition, p. 57 and Plate 126).

25. Vol. II, No. 100. Now in the Landesmuseum, Münster, Westphalia. Friedländer, in his Vol. XIV (1937, p. 87), attributed this painting to Vrancke van der Stockt (see Vol. II of the present edition, p. 57 and Plate 113).

26. In the margin of his own copy of the original edition, Vol. IV, p. 110, Friedländer wrote *verschieden hoch*, apparently doubting his hypothesis of a diptych. The drawings indeed measure 290 × 128 mm (New York) and 198 × 143 mm (Paris). The 8 first volumes of Friedländer's personal copy of *Die Altniederländische Malerei* with notes by his hand are preserved at the Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte, Florence; the other volumes are kept at the Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht.

27. Now the Cathedral of St. Michael.

28. The completion of the North tower can be dated rather precisely as 1480 or shortly before. See *E. Michel, Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue Raisonné des Peintures du Moyen-Age, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes. Peintures Flamandes du* XVe *et du* XVIe *Siècle*, Paris, 1953, p. 186 (with bibliography).

29. In the margin of his personal copy (see Note 26), Fried-

länder wrote *Brussel*. The church represented is indeed Notre-Dame des Victoires au Sablon, Brussels. See M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands* I, *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 3), II, Antwerp, 1954, pp. 202–207 (with bibliography).

30. See Supp. 120.

31. 'The scene mistakenly regarded as dealing with the story of Esther represents Joseph's marriage to Asenath, as Popham has shown (*Berliner Museen*, 51, 1931, p. 73)' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937).

32. Figdor auction, Berlin, 29th–30th September 1930, Lot 49.

33. In the margin of his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote *etwas früher*.

34. Identical with Add. 137 in Vol. II.

35. See also Vol. VII, p. 96 in the original edition.

36. The word BRVSELLE can be seen on the part of the mantle covering the head of the Virgin.

37. In the original edition, BRYSELLE, a misprint for BRVSELLE.

38. SSts. Michael and Agnes. The subject is correctly identified in the Catalogue, No. 91.

39. Restored in 1949–1952. See H. Kisky, 'Die Restaurierung des Hochaltarflügel von Colijn de Coter in der kath. Pfarrkirche von Orsoy (Kreis Moers)', in *Jahrbuch der Rheinischen Denkmalpflege in Nord-Rheinland*, XX, 1956, pp. 338–341.

40. Now in the Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, Inv. No. 187.369. See J. Białostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 9), Brussels, 1966, pp. 42–54.

41. Eight panels (probably four shutters and their reverse): *The Selection of Joseph as Mary's Husband; The Betrothal of the Virgin; The Massacre of the Innocents; Jesus among the Doctors*, and *The Holy Kindred* on four panels. They were sold at an auction at Leo Spik's, Berlin on 29th November 1949; 112 × 47 cm each.

42. In the margin of his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote *nach 1510*.

43. See Note 21.

44. 'From the inscriptions, Jan de Mol seems to have died in 1498, while the portrait was painted as early as 1467' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). The upper part of the panel, with an inscription and a coat of arms, has now been cut off, and the verso, showing a St. Augustine, was removed as the panel was also sawn vertically in half. According to the original inscription the picture was painted when the sitter was 67. The date of the execution is defective in this inscription. The inscriptions are transcribed by P. Murray, *Catalogue of the Lee Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art. University of London*, London, 1962, pp. 8–10.

45. A cleaning in 1941 has revealed the subject as a *Virgin giving Suck*.

46. See F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, p. 250, note 1.

47. See Note 1.

48. *St. Genevieve* was originally the reverse of *The Fall of Man*. The verso of *The Lamentation* still bears traces of a badly damaged heraldic motive (Letter from Dr. E. M. Auer, Direktor, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 6th December 1968). See also Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, p. 42, Note 1.

49. In 1957 the picture underwent an elaborate restoration. See K. Arndt, 'Zum Werk des Hugo van der Goes', in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 3rd. S., XV, 1964, p. 77.

50. See Add. 136. See also F. Winkler, 'Das Berliner "Tuchlein" des Hugo van der Goes und sein Gegenstück', in *Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den Ehem. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, N.S. V, 1955, pp. 2–8.

51. See also Vol. VI, No. 113.

52. For more details on the state of preservation, see V. Loewinson-Lessing and N. Nicouline, 'Le Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 8), Brussels, 1965, pp. 26 and 33.

53. *The Annunciation* was cleaned and restored in 1936–1937. See R. Oertel, 'Die Verkündigung des Hugo van der Goes', in *Pantheon*, XX, 1937, pp. 377–379; the illustrations of this article show each panel after cleaning and before retouching, thus locating the losses in the original paint layer.

54. The date of the Portinari altarpiece—a pivot for the entire chronology of van der Goes's work—is still a subject for debate among art historians. There is wide agreement that it lies between 1473 and 1480, but within that range opinions still differ. This is discussed in the Editor's Note, pp. 89–90.

55. See Add. 146.

56. See Vol. III, Plate 43. For the grisaille paintings with Sts. Hippolytus and Elizabeth, see also Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, p. 54, Note 3.

57. Now attributed by the museum to Hugo van der Goes. See H. B. Wehle and M. Salinger, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947, pp. 58–59. As to the portrait being a section, this is supported by a recent examination of the panel: it has no 'barbe' along the edges and the bevelling along the sides on the back is of recent date (letter from P. de Montebello, Associate Curator, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11th September 1968).

58. Friedländer suggested in 1950 that this panel may have been the predella for the Monforte altarpiece ('Von den drei grossen Altniederländern aus dem Berliner Museum', in *Die Weltkunst*, XX, 1950, pp. 3–4. This article was also published in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* (Amsterdam), June 1950).

59. We have not been able to locate the two copies, Nos. 16a and 16b. A third copy, apparently different, was exhibited at Warsaw in 1960, as No. 23. See the catalogue by J. Białostocki, *Musée National de Varsovie. La Peinture Néerlandaise dans les Collections Polonaises 1450–1550*, Warsaw, 1960, p. 42, No. 23, ill. It belongs to the Museum of Nysa (Poland), and measures 61 × 53 cm. Winkler (*Das Werk...*, 1964, p. 212, Note 2) believes this version to be identical with Friedländer's No. 16a.

60. See Note 58. See also Vol. V, pp. 18–19, 33 and 37, in the original edition.

61. Friedländer noted that the shutters of No. 124, Vol. VII (identical with the present No. 17b), differ from those of the

Antwerp version, also by the Master of Frankfurt (No. 17d, this volume, and No. 123, Vol. VII). He thought the shutters in Antwerp probably reflect the lost originals better.

62. Vol. VII, No. 124a.

63. Vol. VII, No. 123. See also Note 61.

64. The painting was cleaned in 1939, revealing the donor's hands, folded in prayer. See E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge Mass., 1953, p. 499, Note 332[1], and *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century. Catalogue..., Detroit..., 1960*, pp. 120, 122, No. 22: the vertical edges are original but the panel seems to have been cut at the top and at the bottom. Traces of a collar around the neck of the donor could very well be from the order of the Golden Fleece.

65. About 20 versions are recorded in the files of the Centre National de Recherches 'Primitifs Flamands', Brussels. See Addenda, p. 88.

66. Vol. VI, No. 181. Using infra-red photographs that reveal the underlying drawing, Arndt devoted an extensive study to this painting and its meaning in van der Goes's work, as well as to the copying technique by mechanical means (tracing). See K. Arndt, 'Gerard Davids "Anbetung der Könige" nach Hugo van der Goes. Ein Beitrag zur Kopienkritik', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, XII (3rd Serie), 1961, pp. 153-175.
A partial copy of this composition, possibly by the master of 1500, is kept in the Art Museum, Princeton University, No. 32. 33a; 64 × 80 cm. See F. J. Mather, 'An Epiphany by van der Goes finished by Gerard David', in *Art in America*, XXVI, 1938, pp. 64-72.

67. This miniature was offered for sale to the Berlin museum in 1924 by the art dealer Hackenbroch, as Gerard David. In 1919, it was in the Fauconnier collection, Mons.

68. Letter from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, 9th June 1967; a search at the Museo de Valencia de Don Juan did not locate the picture. See also Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, p. 207, Note 6.

69. In the original edition, Friedländer said *Breitbild*, a misstatement he corrected in his personal copy (see Note 26), p. 130.

70. Of all early Netherlandish paintings, this is the composition more often copied, surpassing even the similar composition by Rogier (Vol. II, No. 97). See Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 127-134, who reproduces, i.a., a drawing of this composition attributed to Pieter Bruegel. See also Addenda, p. 88. On some other versions, see also K. Goossens, 'Een "Bewening van Christus" naar Hugo van der Goes?', in *Jaarboek 1964, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, IV, 1964, pp. 145-156; and M. Vincent, 'Une Copie de la Descente de Croix d'Hugo van der Goes au Musée de Beaux-Arts de Lyon', in *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais*, VIII, (1957-1961), 1960, pp. 53-57.

71. See Notes 50 and 51.

72. See also Vol. X, No. 148, and pp. 114-115 of the original edition.

73. In the original edition: *538A*, a misprint for *538B*.

74. The painting is now attributed to an 'imitator of "Campin", early 16th century (?)'. See M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandisch School* (3rd ed.), London, 1968, pp. 29-32. For the numerous changes in composition, see M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands, I. Corpus..., 3*), Vol. I, Brussels, 1953, p. 53.

75. Vol. XI, No. 270. An echo of this composition is found in a painting by the Master of the Holy Blood, Vol. IX, No. 195.

76. Vol. VI, No. 210.

77. Present whereabouts unknown.

78. Present whereabouts unknown.

79. 'I now believe this to be an original by Hugo van der Goes' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). Among those who have refused to accept this is K. G. Boon, 'Naar Aanleiding van Tekeningen van Hugo van der Goes en zijn School', in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950-1951, p. 94, Note 3, and Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, p. 111-114. In the margin of his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote, opposite No. 30 *Cf. Z. Windsor, Vasari Soc. 1926*, alluding to a drawing of the *Crucified Christ*, preserved at Windsor Castle, No. 12951; 258 × 205 mm (Plate 102). This drawing is similar to the Christ in Venice. See L. van Puyvelde, 'The Flemish Drawings in the Royal Collection at Windsor', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXVIII, 1941, p. 79. Some connoisseurs consider the drawing an original (Boon, 'Naar Aanleiding...', 1950-1951, pp. 82 and 94-98), while others disagree (Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 239, 267 and 278).

80. See Add. 144.

81. See Vol. I, p. 52, Plate 39.

82. A list is given in the catalogue, *European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, Richmond, Virginia, 1966, p. 26, No. 33. The Grimani Breviary not only contains a version of the whole composition (Plate 45), but also a version derived from the St. Catherine alone (Plate 45; here as a St. Barbara). See F. Ongania, *Le Bréviaire Grimani à la Bibliothèque Marciana de Venice*, Venice, 1906, pp. 91 and 108, and G. Hulin de Loo, 'La Vignette chez les Enlumineurs Gantois entre 1470 and 1500', in *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, XXI, 1939, pp. 179-180. Winkler distinguishes two closely related compositions created by van der Goes, a *Marriage of St. Catherine*, and a *Virgin Enthroned among Female Saints*, and studies them at length (*Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 115-180). See also Supp. III.

83. Probably identical with Vol. XI, No. 184a.

84. This drawing disappeared during World War II.

85. 'The Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, like the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara, was under the sway of Rogier van der Weyden and their work is in the same spirit as the putative Vrancke van der Stockt (See Vol. II, p. 57). One of these painters is presumably identical with Rogier's son, Pieter van der Weyden' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937).

86. Part of No. 69 also belongs to the œuvre of this master.

87. See also Vol. VII, p. 99 of the original edition.

88. See also Vol. XII, pp. 17-18 of the original edition; U. Hoff, *National Gallery of Victoria. Catalogue of European Paintings Before Eighteen Hundred*, Melbourne, 1961, pp. 50-55, and J. Białostocki,

'Les Musées de Pologne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus*..., 9), Brussels, 1966, p. 12. See also Add. 164. The triptych will be exhibited in Bruges in June-September 1969, as a part of the exhibition *The Anonymous Flemish Primitives* at the Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum).

89. 'The impressive central composition, repeatedly copied, presumably goes back to Rogier' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See Vol. II, Add. 146, and M.J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister der Katharinen-Legende und Rogier van der Weyden', in *Oud-Holland*, LXIV, 1949, pp. 156 ff. On his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote in the margin *Kopp. 16 Jh. erhalten*. Plate 55 shows one of these copies (Berlin, Auction at Lepke's, 2nd December 1930), from a photograph in the Friedländer Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.

90. The reverses of these two shutters show the upper halves of two figures in grisaille, a *Virgin and Child* and a *St. John the Evangelist*. No. 52 seems to have been originally the upper half of the two wings of a triptych with shutters made of two superposed scenes, comparable to the *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament* by Dieric Bouts (Vol. III, No. 18, Plate 26).

91. From their attributes, the saints are Catherine of Alexandria and Blasius.

92. The reverses of the wings show an *Annunciation* in grisaille. For the relation between the complete version of the altarpiece in The Hague and the remaining parts of the original, the centre and the inner side of the right shutter, in Granada, see R. Van Schoute, 'La Chapelle Royale de Grenade' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus*..., 6), Brussels, 1963, pp. 111, 115-117.

93. 'Identical with No. 102, Vol. II. The lower part is more likely to be by the putative Vrancke van der Stockt than by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). Plate 113 in Vol. II reproduces the panel in its entirety.

94. In 1957 the Bruges panel was cleaned, uncovering 12 figures pertaining to scenes of the legend. See B. de Gaiffier, 'Le Triptyque du Maître de la Légende de Sainte Barbe. Sources Littéraires de l'Iconographie', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 3-23.

95. Like Nos. 63 and 64, No. 59 may be a fragment from an altarpiece devoted to the legend of St. Henry II.

96. In the margin of his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote in the margin *Jacobus Minor m. Stange der Tushwalker*.

97. See Note 95.

98. See Note 95.

99. See M.J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule. Nachträgliches', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1939, p. 24, where the author accepts G. de Tervarent's theory (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*,..., 1936, pp. 52 ff.) identifying Nos. 66, 67 and 70 as belonging to the same altarpiece, devoted to the legend of St. Géry. Friedländer maintains the separate attributions of Nos. 66 and 67 to the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara and of No. 70 to the Master of Sainte Gudule, referring to Nos. 49 and 69 as examples of such a collaboration in the Brussels workshops.

100. See Note 99. This painting was cleaned in 1967-1968, see *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 595.

101. The subject of the left shutter has been differently explained. In the margin of his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote *David?* See also H.B. Wehle and M. Salinger, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947, pp. 79-80. Gibson has identified the subject, by comparison with the *Biblia Pauperum*, as *David Receiving Abner's Messenger* (W.S. Gibson, 'A new Identification for a Panel by the St. Barbara Master', in *The Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, pp. 504-506. Zeri has proposed that the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Galleria Colonna, Rome, Photo No. 8823C in the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome (Add. 152), is the centrepiece for these two wings (F. Zeri, 'Un Trittico dell'Maestro della Leggenda de Santa Barbara', in *Paragone*, XI, 1960, pp. 41-45). This reconstitution was approved by the authors of the catalogue of the Detroit exhibition (*Flanders in the Fifteenth Century*..., 1960, pp. 130-132) and by Gibson (*op. cit.*, p. 504).

102. Another Flemish work executed for a donor from the Italian family de Villa was mentioned by Friedländer in his Vol. XIV, the altarpiece of the *Crucifixion* in the Abegg collection. See Vol. II, Supp. 131. V. Denis ('St. Job, Patron des Musiciens', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XXI, 1952, pp. 253-298) has explained the iconography of the scene showing Job giving a penny to three musicians, as well as the smaller scene in the background, showing Job's wife in conversation with the same musicians.

103. 'The substantial enlargement of the œuvre of this master (designs for tapestries by whom are also known) seems particularly significant because of the independence of his formal idiom, compared to the Brussels members of his generation' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See also M.J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule. Nachträgliches', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1939, pp. 23-31. Friedländer here accepts Hulin's attribution to the master of the design for a tapestry of the *Adoration of the Magi* preserved in the cathedral of Sens (Plate 119). A number of unpublished panels exist, mostly scenes of the Passion of Christ from altarpiece shutters, that may have been done by this master or in his workshop.

104. In 1939, Friedländer approved Tervarent's identification of the Saint represented as St. Géry, particularly venerated in Brussels (see Note 99). For the date of the painting, based on the state of completion of the towers of the church of St. Gudule in the background, see Note 28.

105. 'A panel at the Cluny museum, Paris, *The Liberation of the Prisoners* (70 × 47) is from the same series of "Mercies"' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See Supp. 116.

106. In 1939 Friedländer insisted that the setting of this scene is borrowed from Rogier's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, Vol. II, No. 106 (see M.J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule..., 1939, p. 30). The painting was cleaned in 1958-1959 (*Flanders in the Fifteenth Century*..., 1960, pp. 133-135).

107. Probably the painted shutters from a sculptured altarpiece, which the master's workshop seems to have produced in quantity (see Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule..., 1939, p. 24). In the margin of his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote, opposite No. 74: *1927, Hageraats, Haag, 2 davon.*

108. See Note 31.

109. The centrepiece of this altar included a *Christ Carrying the Cross*, a *Crucifixion* in the middle, and a *Descent from the Cross*, now lost. The dimensions are: exterior of left wing, a) *Presentation of the Virgin* and *Annunciation*: 151 × 118 cm; interior of left wing, b) *Circumcision*: 148 × 58 cm, and c) *Jesus among the Doctors*: 147.5 × 60 cm; exterior of right wing, d) *Nativity* and *Adoration of the Kings*: 148 × 120 cm; interior of right wing, *Entombment*: 148 × 59 cm, and f) *The Mourners Taking Leave of the Tomb*: 148 × 59 cm; centrepiece, g) *Christ Carrying the Cross*: 144.5 × 86 cm, h) *Crucifixion*: 144 × 85 cm (the third panel of the centrepiece is missing).

110. 'The altarpiece at Kinnaird Castle is by an immediate follower of Rogier rather than by the Master of the Joseph Sequence' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See T. Rousseau, 'A Flemish Altarpiece from Spain', in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, IX, 1951, pp. 270–283. The subjects are: central panel, the *Nativity*, with the *Almighty and Angels*; left, the *Tiburtine Sibyl* and right, the *Magi Following the Star* (these three principal scenes are free variations on the Bladelin triptych by Rogier, Vol. II, No. 38). Small top shutters, *Singing Angels*. Left shutter, the *Visitation*; right shutter, the *Adoration of the Kings*. Reverses of the shutters, *St. John the Baptist* and *St. Catherine*; on the two small top shutters: *Adam and Eve Expelled from the Garden of Eden*. The two outer shutters are missing. The *Annunciation* is in an English private collection (Agnew 1948) and the *Presentation*, recently located by M. Baes-Dondeyne ('Een Teruggevonden Luik van het Brussels Geboorte-Retabel in the Cloisters te New York', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, XI, 1969, is in a private collection in Zurich. Its reverse represents St. John the Evangelist.

111. In the original edition, *37*, a misprint for *35*. See also Vol. XII, No. 32.

112. In the original edition, *36*, a misprint for *34*. See also Vol. XII, No. 32.

113. In the original edition, *39*, a misprint for *37*. See also Vol. XII, No. 32.

114. In the original edition, *103*, a misprint for *36*. Present whereabouts unknown.

115. 'These portraits of Philip the Fair may come from the workshop of the Master of the Magdalene Legend. See Vol. XII, No. 32' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937).

116. On this master's share in the altarpiece at Melbourne (No. 49), see Vol. XII, pp. 17–18 of the original edition (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937).

117. The reverse show an *Annunciation* in grisaille, apparently by a weaker hand. For the musician angels on the inside of the shutters, see Vol. II, No. 74.

118. In the margin of his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote *1931 De Motte, Paris*. According to records at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, it is No. 84b that came from the Oppenheim collection, and not No. 84, as stated by Friedländer.

119. See Vol. IX, No. 164.

120. See Vol. II, Supp. 132d. 'For Rogier's original version, see Vol. II, Supp. 132' (Suppl. Vol. XIV, 1937). See also R. A. Koch, 'Copies of Roger van der Weyden's "Madonna in Red"', in *Record of the Art Museum. Princeton University*, XXVI, 2, Fall 1967.

121. See Vol. II, Supp. 132a.

122. See Vol. II, Supp. 132c.

123. 'The central panel that belongs with these shutters is the *Virgin*, once in private hands in Munich' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See Supp. 128. The donors are Louis Quarré and his wife Barbara. See G. Hulin de Loo, 'La Vignette chez les Enlumineurs Gantois entre 1470 et 1500', in *Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletins de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, XXI, 1939, pp. 173–174, and J. Bartier, 'Légistes et Gens de Finances au XVe Siècle. Les Conseillers des Ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire' (*Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Mémoires*, L. Fasc. 2), Brussels, 1955, p. 277 and Note 2.

124. Vol. II, No. 106 and Note 95. The present painting is identical with Add. 137 in Vol. II. See also p. 65 above.

125. In Vol. IX, No. 201, Friedländer lists a free copy of the central panel in the Brussels museum. The first word of the signature is read as COLLIN by H. Adhémar, 'Le Musée National du Louvre, Paris' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 5) I, Brussels, 1962, p. 77. See this author also for the identification of the donors and the history of the painting.

126. For the reconstitution of the complete composition and for its iconography, see H. Adhémar, 'Une Hypothèse Vérifiée grâce au Laboratoire du Louvre. Le Christ et la Vierge de Miséricorde aux Donateurs de Colyn de Coter', in *Bulletin du Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre* (*Supplément à la Revue des Arts*), Paris, 1957, pp. 48–56 and 'Le Musée National du Louvre, Paris' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 5) I, Brussels, 1962, pp. 89–100.

127. On his personal copy of Vol. IV (see Note 26), Friedländer wrote here in the margin: *u. 1898*.

128. 'This panel is in a poor state of preservation' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See also Note 36.

129. Friedländer reproduced this painting in his Vol. XIV, 1937, Plate Nachtr. XVIII.

130. Now in the Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, Inv. No. 187.369; overall dimensions, open: 236 × 580 cm; small wings 72.5 × 42.5 cm, obverse, without frame; large wings 125 × 60 cm, obverse, without frame. See. J. Białostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 9), Brussels, 1966, pp. 42–54.

131. The dimensions vary: the height, from 111 to 115 cm; the width, from 69 to 77 cm.

132. See Vol. XII, No. 25. See also Add. 165.

133. See Note 44.

134. Oval. From the left wing of a diptych with a *Virgin*, in the opinion of H. B. Wehle and M. Salinger, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947, pp. 57–58. Panofsky (*Early Netherlandish Painting...*, 1953, Notes 294[16] and 332[1]), thinks it comes
108 from the left wing of a triptych, or is a section from a larger composition; Winkler (*Das Werk...*, 1964, p. 58) agrees in this and believes this fragment to be the remainder of an important altarpiece.

135. 'It coincides with a figure in the panel with the enthroned Virgin, which was done by the Master of 1499 (No. 38), but goes back to van der Goes. This imitator did the pictures listed in the Catalogue as No. 37 (dated 1499), 38, 39, 40, 41 and 42' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937).

136. Friedländer deals with the iconography of these two panels (No. 72 and Supp. 116) in his article 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule..., 1939, p. 24. He rejects Tervarent's inclusion of Supp. 116 as part of an altarpiece of the St. Géry Legend. Friedländer maintains his opinion that No. 72 and Supp. 116 belong to the same altarpiece of the Seven Works of Mercy. The slight difference in size can be explained by the fact that both panels have been cut, the one on top, the other along the vertical edge.

137. See M. J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule..., 1939, p. 25.

138. See p. 63, above.

139. See M. J. Friedländer, *ibidem*, p. 30 and fig. 5.

140. See M. J. Friedländer, *ibidem*, p. 29; as early work by the master.

141. See M. J. Friedländer, *ibidem*, p. 29–30, fig. 7.

142. 'A major work, reproduced, with details, in *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1924/5, pp. 143 ff. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (German edition, *Geschichte der Altniederländische Malerei*, p. 177) mention this triptych in their chapter on van der Goes, reporting that the ship that carried the picture foundered off Palermo in 1946. The altarpiece was saved and presented to the church at Polizzi. We have, therefore, a date before which it must have been done,' (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See also G. Carandente, 'Collections d'Italie. I. Sicile' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes du Quinzième Siècle*, 3), Brussels, 1968, pp. 16–30.

143. See Addenda, p. 88.

144. F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964.

145. K. Oettinger, 'Das Rätsel der Kunst des Hugo van der Goes', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*', N.S. XII, 1938, pp. 43–76.

146. H. von Einem, 'Entwicklungsfragen bei Hugo van der Goes', in *Das Werk des Kunstlers* (Stuttgart), II, 1941–1942, pp. 153–199.

147. K. Arndt, 'Gerard Davids "Anbetung der Könige" nach Hugo van der Goes. Ein Beitrag zur Kopienkritik', in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* (3rd Ser.), XII, 1961, pp. 153–175; Idem, 'Zum Werk des Hugo van der Goes', in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* (3rd Ser.), XV, 1964, pp. 63–98.

148. See Note 144.

149. It is only in 1550 that Vasari credits him with the Portinari altarpiece (No. 10) in Sta. Maria Nuova in Florence; see p. 11, above, and J. Folie, 'Les Oeuvres Authentifiées des Primitifs Flamands', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, VI, 1963, pp. 223–224.

150. See further, p. 91.

151. A. Warburg, 'Flandrische und Florentinische Kunst im Kreise des Lorenzo Medici um 1480', in *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), VIII, 1901 (8th November), and Idem, 'Flandrische Kunst und Florentinische Frührenaissance', in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXIII, 1902, pp. 257, Note 7, and 259, Note 1. These two contributions were republished in 1932: A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932, see p. 378, Note to p. 198.

152. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting...*, Note 333[1].

153. See p. 13, above.

154. A. De Schryver, 'Hugo van der Goes' Laatste Jaren te Gent', in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XVI, 1955–1956, pp. 193–211. On the basis of these data, Arndt tends to believe that Hugo left Ghent in 1477 ('Gerard Davids "Anbetung..."', 1961, p. 173, Note 56).

155. See p. 16, above.

156. 'Das Rätsel...', 1938, p. 44.

157. W. Schöne, *Die Grossen Meister der Niederländischen Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts. Hubert van Eyck bis Quentin Massys*, Leipzig, (1939), p. 29.

158. J. B. Knipping, 'Hugo van der Goes' (*Palet Series*), Amsterdam, [1940], pp. 16–21.

159. 'Entwicklungsfragen...', 1941–42, p. 171.

160. L. van Puyvelde, *The Flemish Primitives*, London, 1948, p. 29.

161. Idem, *La Peinture Flamande au Siècle des Van Eyck*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1953, p. 217.

162. *Early Netherlandish Painting...*, 1953, pp. 332 and 499, Note 333[1].

163. J. S. Held, 'Book Reviews. Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting...', In *The Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, 1955, p. 231.

164. 'Hugo van der Goes' Laatste Jaren...', 1955–56, pp. 201–202.

165. V. Denis, *Hugo van der Goes*, Brussels, 1956, p. 38.

166. [H. Pauwels], *Le Siècle des Primitifs Flamands* (catalogue of the exhibition in Bruges, 1960), 3rd French ed., Bruges, 1961, p. 76.

167. *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch... The Detroit Institute of Arts... 1960*, Brussels, 1960, p. 116.

168. J. Lavalleye, 'Goes (Hugo van der)', in *Biographie Nationale... de Belgique*, XXXI (Suppl. t. III, fasc. 1), Brussels 1961, col. 403.

169. '*Zum Werk...*', 1964, p. 93, Note 22.

170. *Das Werk...*, 1964, p. 24 and Note 2.

171. A. Grunzweig, 'Portinari (Tommaso)', in *Biographie Nationale...de Belgique*, XXXII (Suppl. t. IV, fasc. 2), Brussels, 1964, cols. 585 and 591.

172. K. Malkon, 'Goes, Hugo van der', in *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon*, II, Zürich, 1965, p. 680.

173. K. Arndt, *Hugo van der Goes. Der Portinari-Altar*, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 1.

174. C.D. Cuttler, *Northern Painting. From Pucelle to Bruegel. Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, New York..., 1968, p. 153.

175. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School* (3rd ed.), London, 1968, p. 58.

176. H.T. Musper, *Altniederländische Malerei von Van Eyck bis Bosch*, Cologne-New York, 1968, p. 32.

177. 'Das Rätsel...', 1938.

178. *Die Grossen Meister...*, (1939), pp. 17 ff.

179. 'Gerard Davids "Anbetung..."', 1961, pp. 165 (and Note 81) and 169-170.

180. *Altniederländische Malerei...*, 1968, pp. 31 (voyage to Italy), and 33 (late date of Vienna diptych).

181. 'Entwicklungsfragen...', 1941-1942. The author nevertheless places the Pembroke *Nativity* (No. 16), as does Oettinger, at the very end of the painter's career, as the culmination of his *irreale Spätstil* (p. 184). Again like Oettinger, he studies van der Goes's stylistic evolution within the framework of the general evolution of art, especially early Netherlandish painting, between 1470 and 1480, rather than as an inner personal evolution, influenced by mental illness. This differs from the attitude of many art historians, such as Panofsky, Held and Denis.

182. C. de Tolnay, 'Hugo van der Goes as Portrait Painter', in *The Art Quarterly*, VII, 1944, p. 189, Note 6.

183. *Early Netherlandish Painting...*, 1953, pp. 338-340. The author suggests van der Goes may have made a voyage to France in 1472-1473.

184. J. Lavalleye, 'Hugo van der Goes' (*Notre Passé*), Brussels, 1962, pp. 35-36.

185. *Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 43-45. See also pp. 310 ff.

186. R. Rey, *Hugo van der Goes*, Brussels, 1945, pp. 22-26.

187. K.G. Boon, 'Naar Aanleiding van Tekeningen van Hugo van der Goes en zijn School', in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950-1951, pp. 82-101.

188. V. Loewinson-Lessing and N. Nicouline, 'Le Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 8), Brussels, 1965, p. 35. Reviewing this volume (*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1967, pp. 337-339), Arndt expresses the opinion that the tryptich is the work of a follower.

189. K.G. Boon, 'Boekbesprekingen. Friedrich Winkler, Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes..., 1964...', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXX, 1965, pp. 195-201.

190. 'Das Rätsel...', 1938, pp. 61-65.

191. 'Zum Werk...', 1964, pp. 70-73; see also his Note 27.

192. W. Schöne, 'Uber Einige Altniederländische Bilder, vor allem in Spanien', in *Jahrbuch der Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, LVIII, 1937, pp. 164-165 (he hesitates between an original and a good copy); Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 85-86; Arndt, 'Zum Werk...', 1964, pp. 73-76.

193. Schöne, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-168 (he is undecided whether this is an original or a very good copy); R. Longhi, 'Una Madonna di Hugo van der Goes', in *Paragone*, III, (March) 1950, p. 14; J.G. van Gelder, 'Fiamminghi e Italia' at Bruges, Venice and Rome, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, p. 327; Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 80-82; Arndt, 'Zum Werk...', 1964, pp. 79-80.

194. Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 168 (he is the first to call attention to this painting, but still attributes it to the 'circle of van der Goes'); Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 82-85; Arndt, 'Zum Werk...', 1964, pp. 63-69.

195. Boon, 'Naar Aanleiding...', 1950-1951, p. 90 (school of Hugo); Held, (review of Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting*)..., 1955, p. 231 (an early original or a faithful repetition); H. Pauwels, *Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, Groeninge-Bruges. L'Art Flamand dans les Collections Espagnoles...*, Bruges, 1958, p. 26, No. 3 (attributed to Hugo van der Goes); Winkler, *Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 103-111 (the best version of a lost original).

196. *Das Werk...*, 1964.

197. M.J. Friedländer, 'The Death of the Virgin by Petrus Christus', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVIII, 1946, p. 160.

198. M.J. Friedländer, 'Van der Goes und Memling', in *Oud-Holland*, LXV, 1950, pp. 167-171.

199. M.J. Friedländer, 'Von den drei Grossen Altniederländern aus dem Berliner Museum', in *Die Weltkunst* (Munich), XX, 1950, pp. 3-4. This essay was also printed in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* (Amsterdam), June, 1950.

200. 'Zum Werk...', 1964.

201. K. Arndt, *Hugo van der Goes. Der Portinari-Altar*, Stuttgart, 1965.

202. 'Gerard Davids "Anbetung..."', 1961.

203. A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Le Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, Bruges' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 1), 2nd ed., Antwerp, 1959, pp. 83-90 (a third revised edition is in preparation).

204. V. Loewinson-Lessing and N. Nicouline, 'Le Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 8), Brussels, 1965, pp. 26-38.

205. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, pp. 168 (and Note 4) and 169.

206. *Das Werk...*, 1964, pp. 267-278.

207. *Early Netherlandish Painting...*, 1953, p. 500, Note 334^3.

208. 'Naar Aanleiding...', 1950-1951, pp. 83 ff.

209. 'Gerard Davids "Anbetung..."', 1961, pp. 153 ff.

210. R. Fritz, 'Aquilegia. Die Symbolische Bedeutung der Akelei', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1952, pp. 99-110.

211. *Early Netherlandish Painting...*, 1953, pp. 333-334.

212. H. Aurenhammer, *Lexikon der Christlichen Iconographie*, I, Vienna, 1959, pp. 75-76.

213. L. Behling, *Die Pflanze in der Mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*, Weimar, 1957, pp. 36, 37-38, 64 ff., and Plates L, LIII, LIV and LV.

214. R.A. Koch, 'Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar',

in *The Art Bulletin*, XLVI, 1964, pp. 70–77.

215. R.M.Walker, 'The Demon of the Portinari Altarpiece', in *The Art Bulletin*, XLII, 1960, pp. 218–219.

216. M.B.Mc Namee, S.J., 'Further Symbolism in the Portinari Altarpiece', in *The Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, pp. 142–143.

217. P.Philippot, 'Les Grisailles et les "Degrés de Réalité" de l'Image dans la Peinture Flamande des XVe et XVIe Siècles', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XV, 1966, pp. 232–234.

218. R.A.Koch, 'The Salamander in van der Goes' Garden of Eden', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII, 1965, pp. 323–326.

219. H.L.Kessler, 'The Solitary Bird in van der Goes' Garden of Eden', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII, 1965, pp. 326–329.

220. *Hugo van der Goes...*, 1956, pp. 9–13 and 19.

221. F.Winkler, [review of] 'Valentin Denis. Hugo van der Goes, Brüssel, 1956', in *Kunstchronik* (Munich), X, 1957, pp. 17–18.

222. A.Moerman, 'Enkele Bemerkingen Betreffende Hugo van der Goes en de Zuidnederlandse Tapijtkunst', in *Artes Textiles. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Tapijt-, Borduur- en Textielkunst*, IV, 1957–1958, pp. 19–25.

223. H.W. von Löhneysen, *Die Ältere Niederländische Malerei. Künstler und Kritiker*, Eisenach-Kassel, 1956, pp. 263–269.

224. S.Sulzberger, 'La Réhabilitation des Primitifs Flamands. 1802–1867' (*Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Beaux-Arts*, XII, fasc. 3), Brussels, 1961, pp. 124, 141–143.

225. A.van Acker, 'Hugo van der Goes; zijn Ziekte en zijn Constitutie', in *Vlaamsch Geneeskundige Tijdschrift*, XXII, 1941, pp. 809–815.

226. *Early Netherlandish Painting...*, 1953, p. 330.

227. J.S.Held, 'Book Reviews. Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting...', in *The Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, 1955, p. 230.

228. J.Duverger and A.de Groot, 'Werk van Hugo van der Goes en van Antoon van Dijk te Brugge', in *Miscellanea J.Gessler*, 1948, pp. 437–443.

229. 'Das Rätsel...', 1938, pp. 74–76.

230. *Hugo van der Goes...*, 1956, pp. 32–36.

231. K.Arndt, *Hugo van der Goes. Der Portinari-Altar*, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 20–24.

232. *Northern Painting...*, 1968, pp. 150–160.

233. H.T.Musper, *Altniederländische Malerei von Van Eyck bis Bosch*, Cologne-New York, 1968, pp. 31–33.

234. H.Vollmer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker*, XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950, pp. 57–58 ('Brügger Meister von 1499') and p. 67 ('Meister der Khanenko-Anbetung').

235. K.G.Boon, 'De Meester van de Khanenko-Aanbidding of de Meester van de Kruiziging te Turijn', in *Oud-Holland*, LXVIII, 1953, pp. 209–216.

236. F.Winkler, 'Ein Nachfolger des Hugo van der Goes', in *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVII, 1915–1916, pp. 69–76.

237. *Das Werk...*, 1964. For Friedländer, No. 37, see pp. 168, 171; No. 38, 165 ff.; No. 39, 181 ff.; No. 40, 282; No. 41, 171, 282; No. 42, 226–229. For the Holy Kindred in the Ghent museum, attributed to an anonymous Ghent master by Friedländer (pp. 44–45, above) and given by Winkler to the Master of 1499, see *Das Werk...*, 1964, p. 282; see also *Musée des Beaux-Arts. Gand. Juste de Gand, Berruguete et la Cour d'Urbino. Exposition... 1957*, Brussels, 1957, Nos. 70–76 and p. 177.

238. C.Gottlieb, 'The Mystical Window in Paintings of the Salvator Mundi', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th. per., LVI, 1960, p. 318.

239. E.Michel, *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue Raisonné des Peintures du Moyen-Age, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes. Peintures Flamandes du XVe et du XVIe Siècle*, Paris, 1953, pp. 169–171.

240. See p. 45, above.

241. This important group is usually classified under the French school. Because of its obvious relationship with van der Goes, Friedländer however devoted a whole passage to it in Volume IV (see p. 45, above). It may be of interest to give here, in chronological order, bibliographical data on the problem since 1938: P.Wescher, 'Das Französische Bildnis von Karl VII. bis zu Franz I.' in *Pantheon* (Munich), XXI, 1938, pp. 1–11; C.Sterling, *La Peinture Française. Les Peintres du Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1942, pp. 44–45 and 82, Note 60; P.Dupieux, *Les Artistes à la Cour Ducale des Bourbons. Les Maîtres de Moulins*, Moulins, 1946; J.Dupont, 'Le Maître de Moulins', in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1945–1947, pp. 225–227; M.H.Goldblatt, 'Master of Moulins Identified: Jean Hay Clouet', in *The Connoisseur*, CXXI, 1948, pp. 68–73, and CXXII, 1948, pp. 3 ff.; L.Réau, 'Les Enigmes du Maître de Moulins', in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1949, pp. 59 ff.; M.Huillet d'Istria, 'Jean Perréal', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XXXV, 1949, pp. 313 ff., 377 ff.; G.Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400–1500*, London, 1949, pp. 235 ff.; X., in *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation du Bourbonnais*, 1949, pp. 182–183; H.Vollmer, *Allgemeines Lexikon...begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker*, XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950, pp. 235–237; G.Ring, 'An Attempt to Reconstruct Perréal', in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, pp. 225 ff.; J.Dupont, 'L'Enigme des Primitifs. Le Maître de Moulins', in *Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Musée de Dijon*, 1949–1951, pp. 22–23; J.P.Rey-Coquais, S.J., *Le Maître de Moulins*, Lyons, 1951; E.Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge Mass., 1953, pp. 344 and 504, Note 344[2]; L.Ninane, 'Hugo van der Goes et le Maître de Moulins', in *Annales de la Fédération Archéologique et Historique de Belgique. Communications du XXXVIe Congrès. 12–15 Avril 1955. Gand*, pp. 377–381; E.Panofsky, 'Jean Hey's "Ecce Homo". Speculations about its Author, its Donor, and its Iconography', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, V, 1956, p. 100; J.Feydy, 'Le Portrait du Cardinal de Bourbon et le Problème du "Maître de Moulins"', in *L'Information d'Histoire de l'Art*, 1957, pp. 164–174; N.Reynaud, 'Le Problème du Maître de Moulins. Etat de la Question', in *L'Information d'His-*

toire de l'Art, 1957, pp. 175-180; M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. French School*, London, 1957, pp. 152-155 and 166; J. Dupont, 'Profil de Jeune Femme par le Maître de Moulins', in *La Revue des Arts*, VII, 1957, pp. 105-108; M. Huillet d'Istria, *La Peinture Française de la Fin du Moyen Age (1480-1530). De l'Art Gothique à la Première Renaissance. Le Maître de Moulins*, Paris, 1961; X., 'Miniature, Peinture, Vitrail: le Maître de Moulins', in *Art de France*, II, 1962, pp. 242-246; A. Chatelet, 'A Plea for the Master of Moulins', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CIV, 1962, pp. 517-524; J. Bruyn and A. Chatelet, 'Letters. The Master of Moulins and Hugo van der Goes', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CV, 1963, pp. 370-371; C. Sterling, 'Une Peinture Certaine de Perréal enfin Retrouvée, in *L'Oeil*, Nos. 103-104, 1963, pp. 2-15, and 64-65; C. Sterling, 'Du Nouveau sur le Maître de Moulins', in *L'Oeil*, No. 107, 1963, pp. 2-15 and 65-68; M. Huillet d'Istria, 'The Problem of the Master of Moulins', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CVI, 1964, pp. 43-45; C. Sterling, 'Jean Hey, le Maître de Moulins', in *Revue de l'Art*, 1-2, 1968, pp. 27-33; N. Reynaud, 'Jean Hey, Peintre de Moulins, et son Client Jean Cueillette', in *Revue de l'Art*, 1-2, 1968, pp. 34-37.

242. I. Vandevivere, 'La Cathédrale de Palencia et l'Eglise Paroissiale de Cervera de Pisuerga' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 10), Brussels, 1967.

243. *Ibidem*, p. 106.

244. (In the following Notes up to Note 249, inclusive, to avoid confusion, Friedländer's Nos. are placed between parentheses and preceded by the letter F.) *Musée des Beaux-Arts, Gand. Juste de Gand, Berruguete et la Cour d'Urbino. 12 Octobre-1957-15 Decembre* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1957), Nos. 54 (F. 3), 55 (F. 6), 56 (F. 7), 57 (F. 2), 58 (F. 14), 59 (F. 25b), 60 (cf. p. 41, above), 61-62 (cf. F. 23), 63 (F. 28a), 65-66 (cf. F. Add. 140), 70 (cf. p. 44-45, above), 71-72 (F. 37).

245. *Musée Communal-Bruges. Fiamminghi e Italia. Juillet-Août 1951* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1951), No. 11 (F. Add. 137); *Musée Communal-Bruges. Le Portrait dans les Anciens Pays-Bas* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1953), Nos. 10-11 (F. 10), 12 (F. 11), 26 (F. 37); *Musée Communal Groeninge, Bruges. L'Art Flamand dans les Collections Britanniques. Août-Septembre 1956* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1956), Nos. 13 (F. 23c), 14 (F. 21a), 15 (F. 39); *Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, Groeninge-Bruges. L'Art Flamand dans les Collections Espagnoles. Juillet-Août 1958* (cat. publ. in Bruges, 1958), Nos. 3 (F. Add. 143), 5 (F. Add. 138); *Le Siècle des Primitifs Flamands. Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge) 26 Juin-11 Septembre 1960* (cat. publ. in Bruges, 1960, text by H. Pauwels, a.o.), Nos. 21 (F. 11), 26 (F. 2), 27 (F. 18), 28 (F. Add. 136), 29 (F. 14), 55 (F. 37).

246. *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts. October-December 1960* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1960, text by J. Folie and L. Ninane a.o.), Nos. 19 (F. 11), 21 (F. 2), 22 (F. 18), 23 (F. Add. 136), 43 (F. 37).

247. *Le Grand Siècle des Ducs de Bourgogne. Musée de Dijon. Palais des Ducs de Bourgogne* (cat. publ. in Dijon, 1951), Nos. 21 (F. 14), 22 (F. 4), 32 (F. 37); *Rijksmuseum. Amsterdam. Bourgondische Pracht... 28 Juli-1 October 1951* (cat. publ. in Amsterdam, 1951), Nos. 37 (F. 4), 38 (F. 14), 27 (F. 37); *Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles. Le Siècle de Bourgogne. 13 Octobre-16 Décembre 1951* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1951), Nos. 22 (F. 14), 23 (F. 4), 33 (F. 37); the Vienna diptych (F. 4) has been exhibited among other cities, at the *Palais des Beaux-Arts. Bruxelles... Chefs-d'Oeuvre des Musées de Vienne. Avril-Juin 1947* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1947), as Nos. 49, 50, 51; and the Berlin *Adoration* (F. 15), at *Palais des Beaux-Arts. Bruxelles. Chefs-d'Oeuvre des Musées de Berlin. 27 Septembre-27 Décembre 1950* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1950), as No. 44.

248. *Exhibition of the King's Pictures. 1946-1947. Royal Academy of Arts, London* (cat. publ. in London, 1946), Nos. No. 147 (F. 39); *Flemish Art. 1300-1700. Winter Exhibition, 1953-1954. Royal Academy of Arts*, London (cat. publ. in London, 1953), Nos. 18 (F. 30), 20 (F. 37), 36 (F. 11), 500 (cf. p. 37, above).

249. *Musée de l'Orangerie. Paris. Les Primitifs Flamands. 5 Juin-7 Juillet 1947* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1947), text by L. van Puyvelde) Nos. 19 (F. 11), 44 (F. 2), 47 (F. Add. 140).

250. A. Brunard, 'Vrancke van der Stockt, Successeur de Roger Van der Weyden en qualité de Peintre de la Ville de Bruxelles', in *Bruxelles au XVe Siècle*, Brussels, 1953, pp. 73-84.

251. R. A. d'Hulst, 'Le "Maître de la Vue de Sainte-Gudule" et les Retables de la Passion de Geel et de Strengnäs II', *ibidem*, pp. 133-154.

252. J. Lavalleye, 'L'Ecole Bruxelloise de Peinture au XVe Siècle', *ibidem*, pp. 165-186.

253. L. Lebeer, 'Le Dessin, la Gravure, le Livre Xylographique et Typographique', *ibidem*, pp. 187-218.

254. C. Mathieu, 'Le Métier des Peintres à Bruxelles aux XIVe et XVe Siècles', *ibidem*, pp. 219-236.

255. P. Philippot, 'La Fin du XVe Siècle et les Origines d'une Nouvelle Conception de l'Image dans la Peinture des Pays-Bas', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XI, 1962, pp. 11-19.

256. J. Lavalleye, 'Les Collections d'Espagne, 2' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes des Quinzième et Seizième Siècles*), Antwerp, 1958, p. 36, No. 87.

257. *Idem*, 'Les Collections d'Espagne, 1' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire...*), Antwerp, 1953, p. 31, No. 38. A rapprocher de Vrancke van der Stockt (see Vol. II, p. 57).

258. M. J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister der Katharinen-Legende und Rogier van der Weyden', in *Oud-Holland*, LXIV, 1949, pp. 156-161. For this painting, see also N. Verhaegen, 'La Descente de Croix de Rubens. Etude préalable au Traitement. Iconographie', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), V, 1962, pp. 25-26.

259. F. Winkler, 'Weyden, Peter (Pieret) van der', in H. Vollmer (ed. by), *Allgemeines Lexikon... begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker*, XXXV, Leipzig, 1942, p. 468. See also *ibidem*, p. 473.

260. H. Vollmer (ed. by), *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950, p. 177.

261. R. Van Schoute, 'La Chapelle Royale de Grenade' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 6), Brussels, 1963, pp. 110-122.

262. U. Hoff, *National Gallery of Victoria. Catalogue of European Paintings before Eighteen Hundred*, Melbourne, 1961, pp. 50–55. The complete dossier of the altarpiece will be published in the *Corpus* volume devoted to the National Gallery of Victoria (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I), in preparation. See also Note 88.

263. Vol. XII, pp. 17–18 of the original edition.

264. *Exposition Bruxelles au XVe Siècle. 9 Octobre–22 Novembre 1953. Musée Communal, Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1953.

265. See Vol. XII, pp. 17–18 of the original edition.

266. *National Gallery of Victoria. Catalogue...*, 1961, pp. 52–54.

267. H. Vollmer (ed. by), *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, XXXVII, 1950, p. 109.

268. G. Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400–1500*, London, 1949, p. 223, No. 203.

269. P. Wescher, 'Das Höfische Bildnis von Philip dem Schönen bis zu Karl V', in *Pantheon* (Munich), XXVIII, 1941, pp. 272–275.

270. See Note 247.

271. H. Vollmer (ed. by), *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950, pp. 33–34.

272. B. de Gaiffier, 'Le Triptyque du Maître de la Légende de Ste. Barbe. Sources Littéraires de l'Iconographie', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 3–23. Long extracts from the same article have been published later: Idem, 'Recherches sur l'Iconographie de Ste. Barbe', in *Bulletin du Centre International des Etudes Romanes*, III, 1960, pp. 3–13.

273. F. Zeri, 'Un Trittico dell'Maestro della Leggenda di Santa Barbara', in *Paragone*, XI, 1960 (May, No. 125), pp. 41–45.

274. [J. Folie, i.a.], *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century... Detroit Institute of Arts..., 1960*, pp. 130–132.

275. W. S. Gibson, 'A New Identification for a Panel by the St. Barbara Master', in *The Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, pp. 504–506.

276. V. Denis, 'Saint Job Patron des Musiciens', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XXI, 1952, pp. 253–298; see also B. Steinborn, '"Rétable de Job" au Musée Silésien', in *Bulletin d'Histoire de l'Art* (Warsaw), XXIV, 1962, pp. 3–26 (Polish text with French summary).

277. M. J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule. Nachträgliches', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1939, p. 24.

278. See Note 249.

279. See Note 264.

280. See Note 244.

281. See Note 245.

282. See Note 246.

283. See Note 264.

284. See Note 245.

285. See Note 246.

286. M. J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule. Nachträgliches', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1939, pp. 23–31.

287. 'La Fin du XVe Siècle...', 1962, pp. 11–19. Baldass had already drawn attention to the rôle of this master in the evolution of style at the end of the XVth Century (L. Baldass, 'Die Niederländische Maler der Spätgotischen Stiles', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.S. XI, 1937, pp. 117–118).

288. H. Vollmer (ed. by), *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950, p. 130.

289. E. Michel, *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue Raisonné...*, 1953, pp. 184–186. In the meantime, the date of the Louvre painting, given by Friedländer (p. 62, above) as 'around 1485', from the dress style, and as "second half of the 15th century" from the state of the church of St. Gudule, visible in the background, has been more closely defined by Lefèvre as 'before 1480', on the basis of documents concerning the completion of the North tower of the church, shown unfinished on the painting (P. Lefèvre, 'A Propos de l'Instruction Pastorale du Louvre', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, VI, 1936, p. 359; Idem, 'Le Narthex et les Tours de la Collégiale Ste. Gudule à Bruxelles', in *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, 1936, p. 24.

290. E. Michel, 'Le Maître de la Vue de Ste. Gudule au Musée de Bruxelles', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I, 1952, pp. 122–130.

291. R. A. d'Hulst, 'Le "Maître de la Vue de Ste. Gudule" et les Retables de la Passion de Geel et de Strengnäs II', in *Bruxelles au XVe Siècle*, Brussels, 1953, pp. 135–154.

292. M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 3), II, Antwerp, 1954, pp. 202–207.

293. See Note 249.

294. See Note 264.

295. See Note 245.

296. See Note 245.

297. See Note 246.

298. H. Vollmer (ed. by), *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950, pp. 167.

299. E. S. King, 'Two Panels by the Master of the Joseph Legend', in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, VI, 1943, pp. 40–47.

300. T. Rousseau, 'A Flemish Altarpiece from Spain', in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, N.S., IX, 1951, pp. 270–283.

301. M. Baes-Dondeyne, 'Een Teruggevonden Luik van het Brussels Geboorte-Retabel in the Cloisters te New York', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), XI, 1969.

302. A. Van Roy, 'Kunstschatten uit Oud-Affligem. De "Meester van Affligem"', in *Brabantse Folklore*, No. 155, 1962, pp. 226–229.

303. F. Anzelewski, 'A Propos de la Topographie du Parc de Bruxelles et du Quai de l'Escaut à Anvers de Dürer', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, VI, 1957, pp. 95–98.

304. G. Marlier, 'Pourquoi ces Rochers à Visages Humains?', in *Connaissance des Arts*, No. 124, (June) 1962, p. 87.

305. P. Wescher, 'Das Höfische Bildnis von Philip dem Schönen bis zu Karl V', in *Pantheon* (Munich), XXVIII, 1941, pp. 272–277.

306. M.J. Onghena, 'De Iconografie van Philips de Schone' (*Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Beaux-Arts. Mémoires*, x, 5), Brussels, 1959.

307. See Note 247.

308. See Note 247.

309. See Note 247.

310. See Note 247.

311. See Note 264.

312. G. Carandente, 'Collections d'Italie, I. Sicile' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire*..., 3), Brussels, 1968, pp. 27-30.

313. A. Pirro, *Histoire de la Musique de la Fin du* XIVe *Siècle à la Fin du* XVe, Paris 1940, pp. 80, 152-154.

314. E. Larsen, 'The Monogrammist ADR alias the Master with the Embroidered Foliage', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXVI, 1961, pp. 201-202.

315. Vol. XII, pp. 17-18 of the original edition.

316. *National Gallery of Victoria. Catalogue*..., 1961, pp. 54-55.

317. J. Białostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne (Gdańsk, Kraków, Warszawa)' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus*..., 9), Brussels, 1966, pp. 1-16 (for the attribution, see pp. 12-13).

318. H. Vollmer (ed. by), *Allgemeines Lexikon*..., XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950, pp. 117-118.

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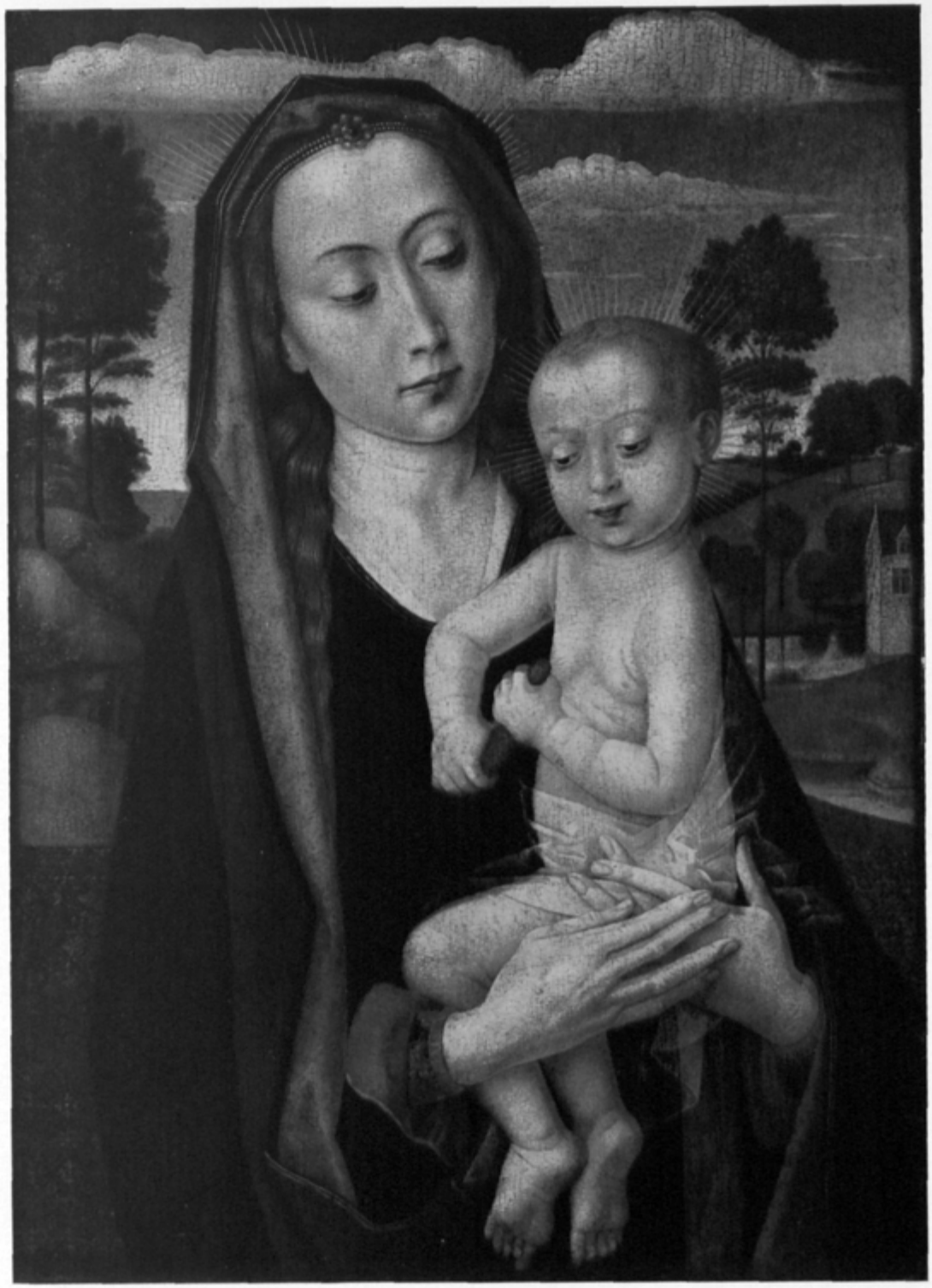


1. H. van der Goes. Virgin and Child. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection*

Plate
2



2. H. van der Goes. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

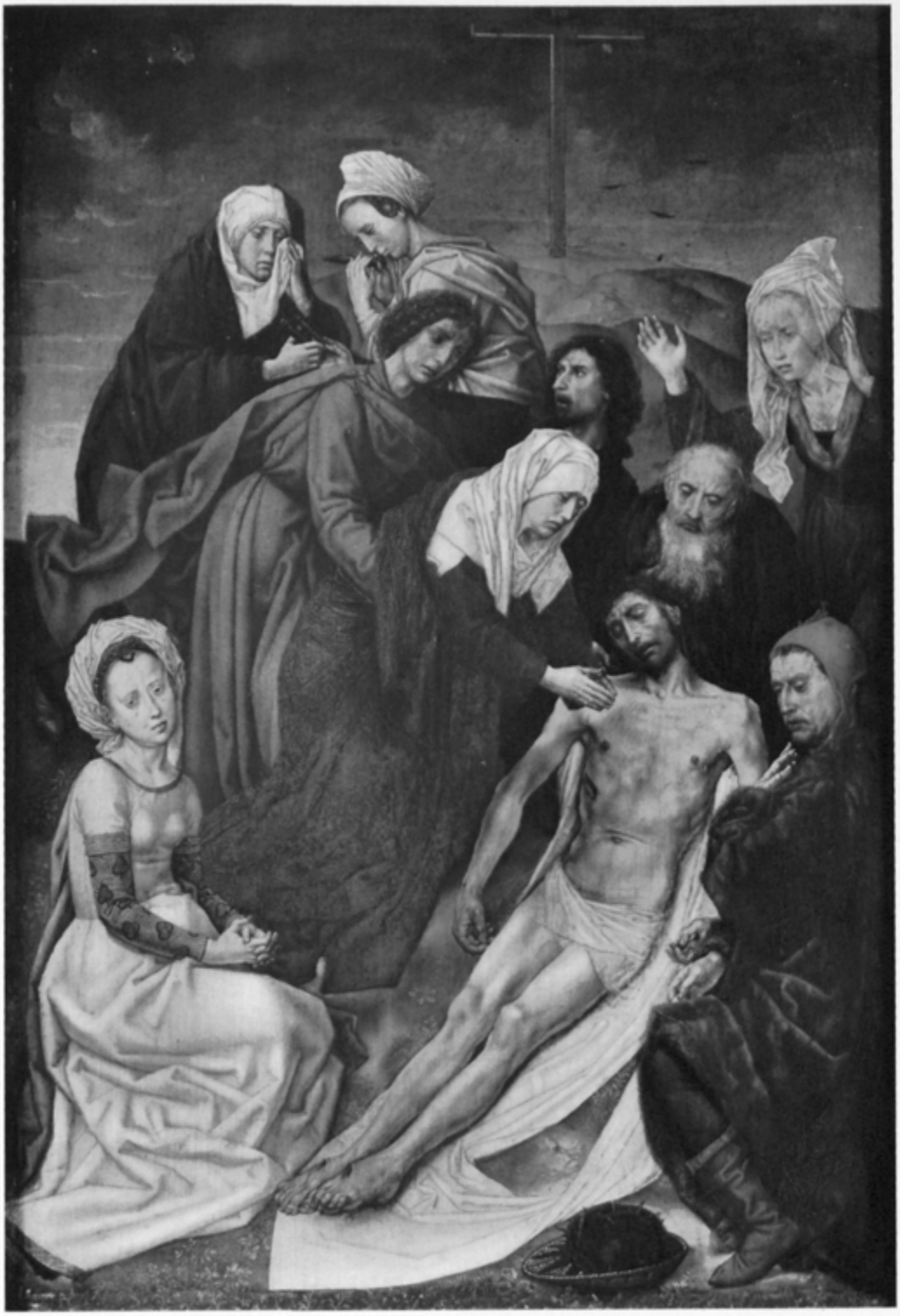


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4. H. van der Goes. The Fall of Man, Left Panel of a Diptych. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



4. H. van der Goes. Lamentation. Right Panel of a Diptych. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*

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4. H. van der Goes. St. Genevieve, Reverse of the Right Panel of a Diptych. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.* 4 a. H. van der Goes, copy. Lamentation. *The Hague, G. Cramer Gallery.* 4 b. H. van der Goes, copy. Lamentation. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*

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5. H. van der Goes. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut*

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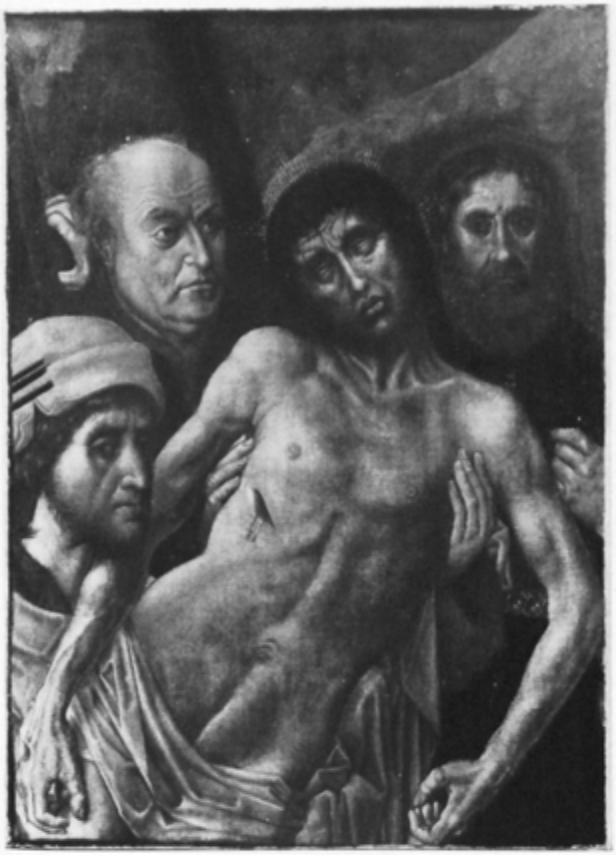




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5. H. van der Goes. Altarpiece of the Virgin. Centrepiece. *Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut*. 6. H. van der Goes. Virgin and Child. *Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*

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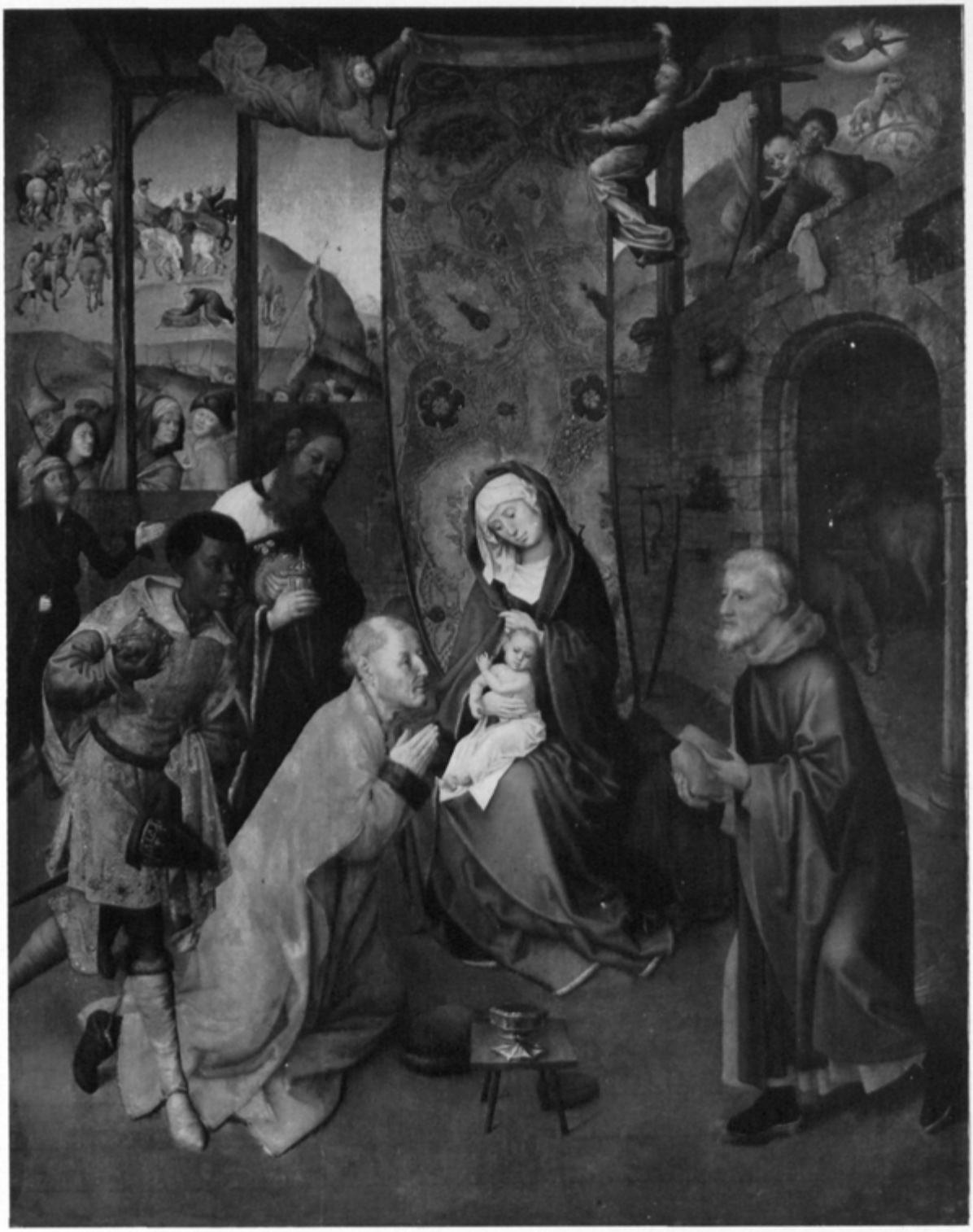
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24 a | 24 b	7 a | 7 c

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8. H. van der Goes. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Kings. *Leningrad, Hermitage*



8. H. van der Goes. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Kings. Centrepiece. *Leningrad, Hermitage*

Plate
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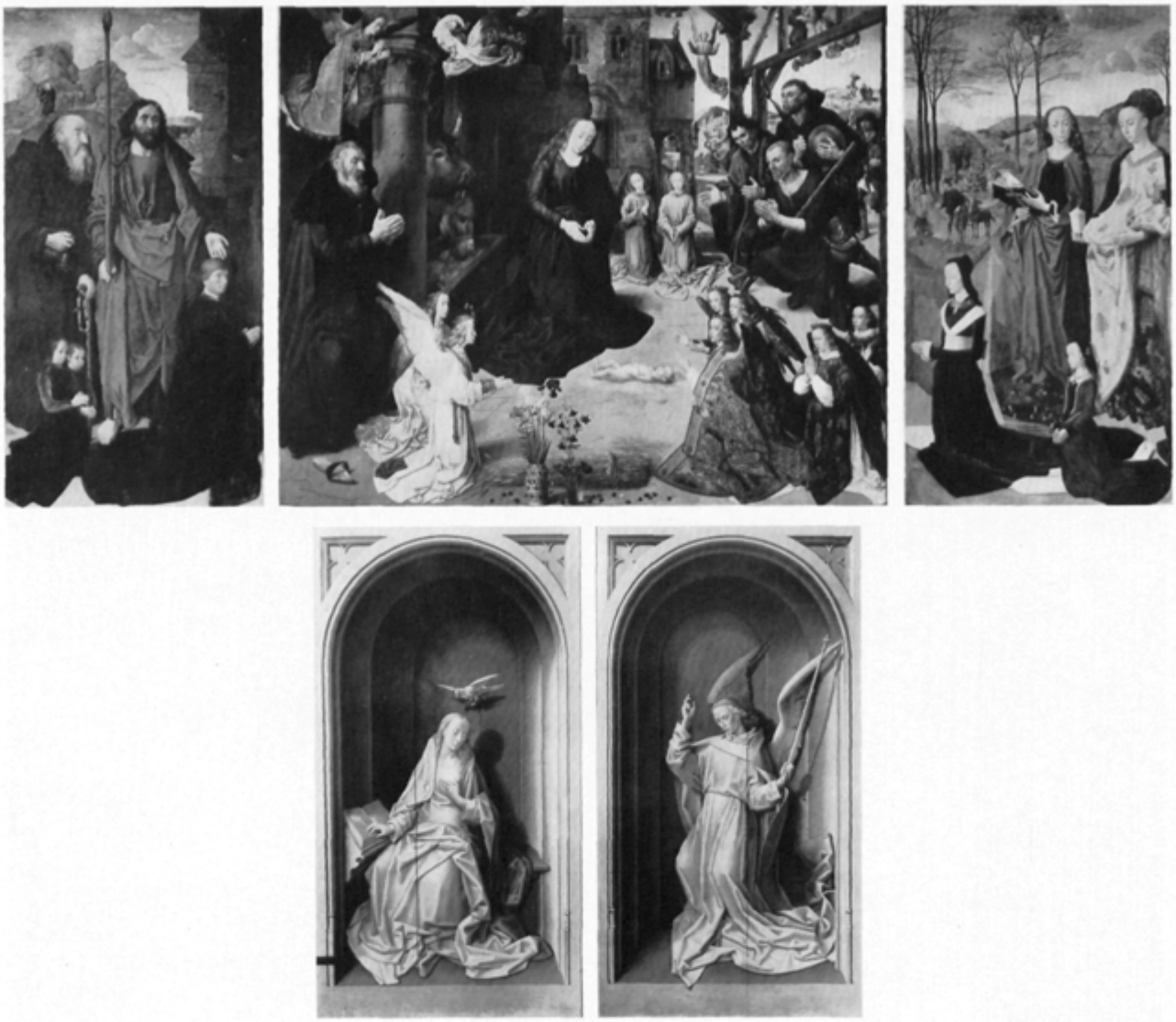


9. H. van der Goes. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Kings. *Vaduz, Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein*



9. H. van der Goes. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Kings. Centrepiece. *Vaduz, Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein*

Plate
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10. H. van der Goes. The Portinari Altarpiece. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*



10. H. van der Goes. The Portinari Altarpiece. Central Panel. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*

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10. H. van der Goes. The Portinari Altarpiece. Shutters with Donors. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*



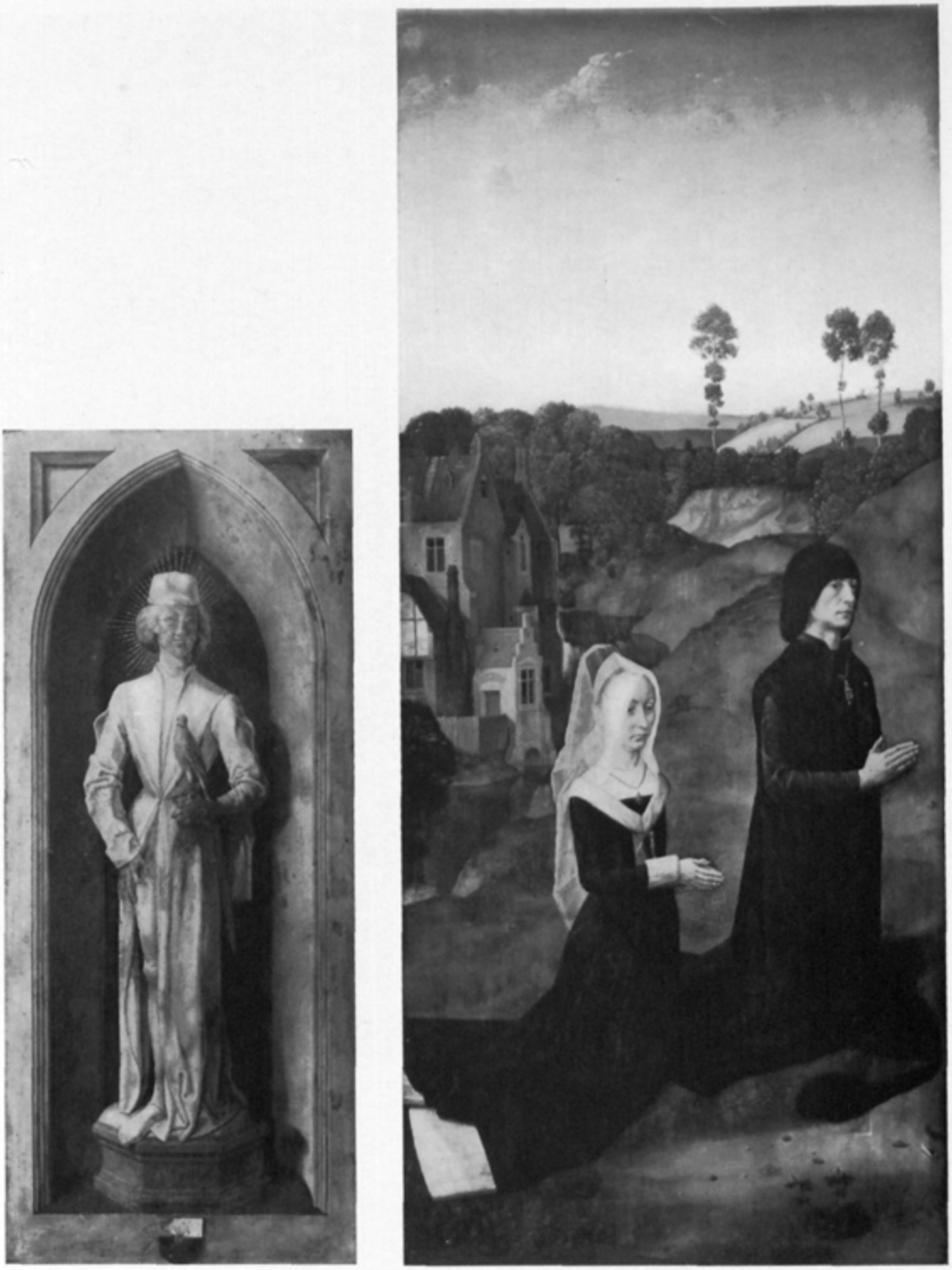
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10. H. van der Goes. The Portinari Altarpiece. Reverse of the Shutters, Annunciation. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*

Plate
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10. H. van der Goes. The Portinari Altarpiece. Detail of Left Shutter, the Sons of the Donor. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*



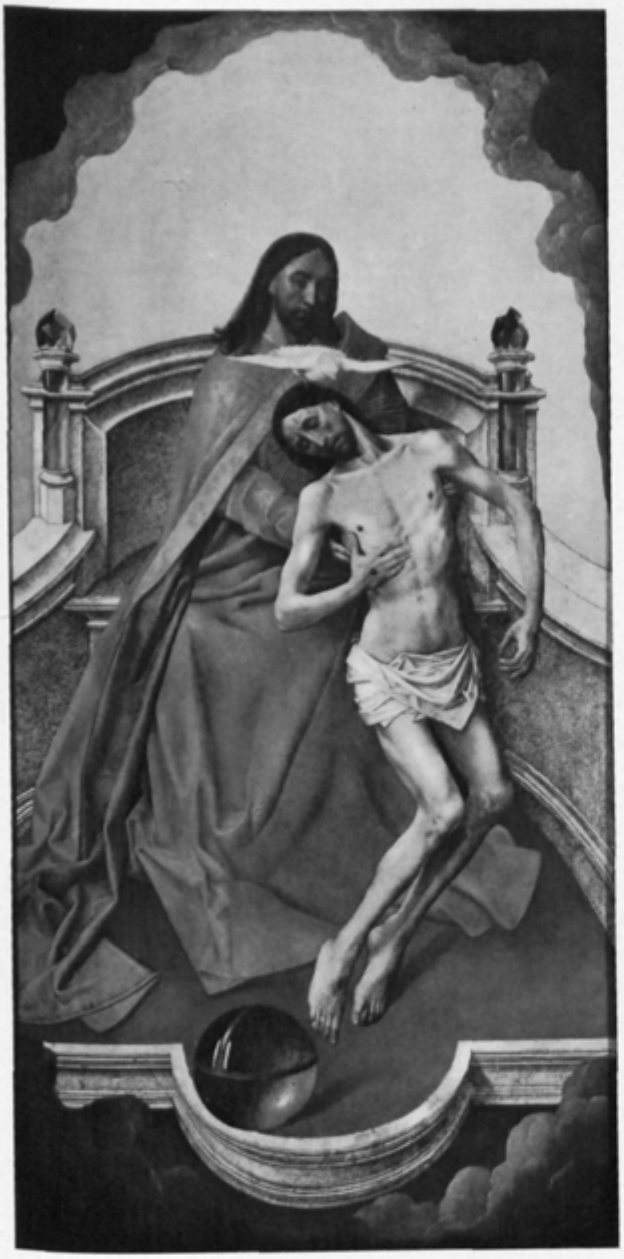
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Plate
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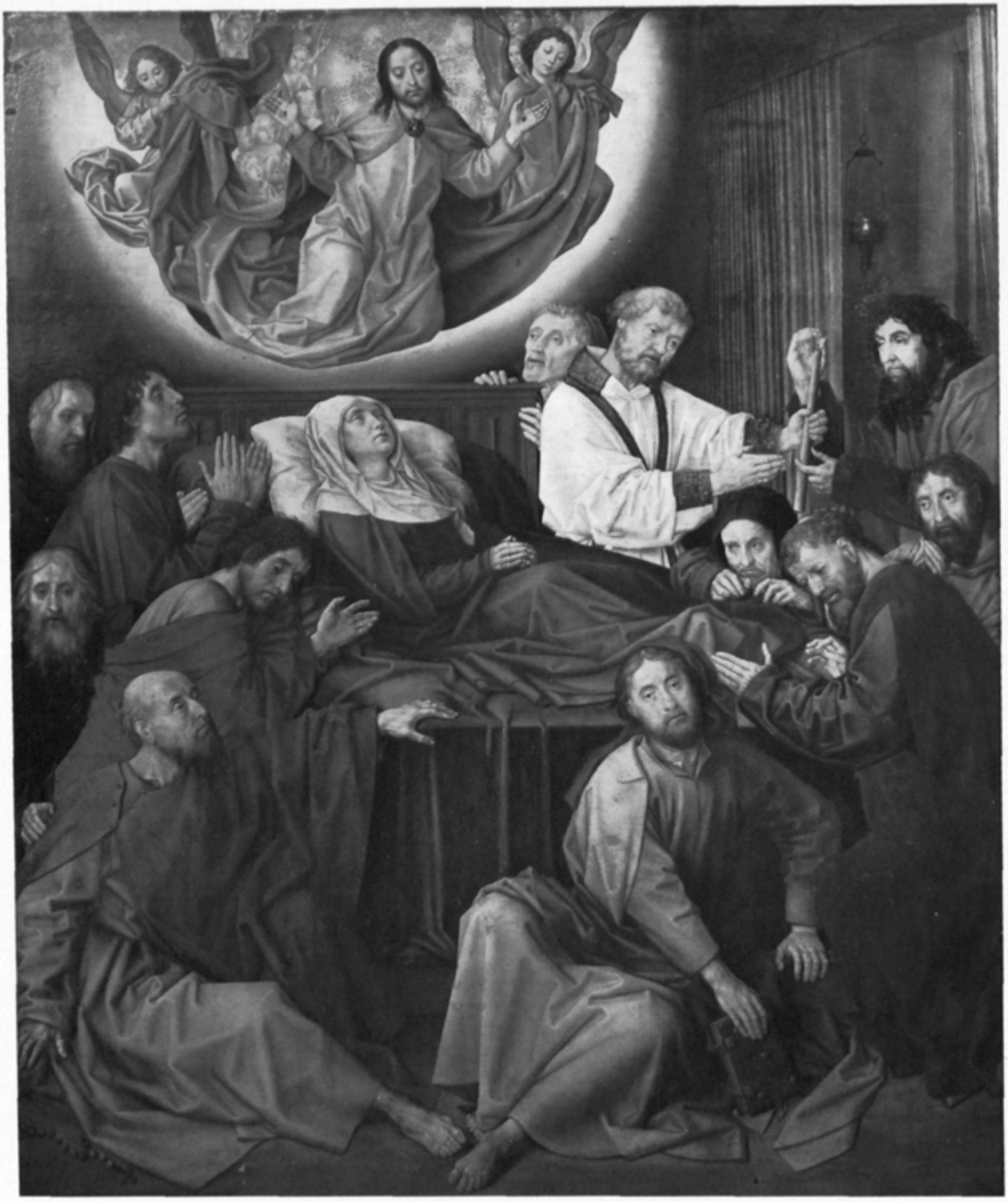
12. H. van der Goes. Two Altarpiece Shutters. *Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland* (Reproduced by Gracious Permission of Her Majesty the Queen)





12. H. van der Goes. Two Altarpiece Shutters. Reverse. *Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland* (Reproduced by Gracious Permission of Her Majesty the Queen)

Plate
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14. H. van der Goes. Death of the Virgin. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*

Plate
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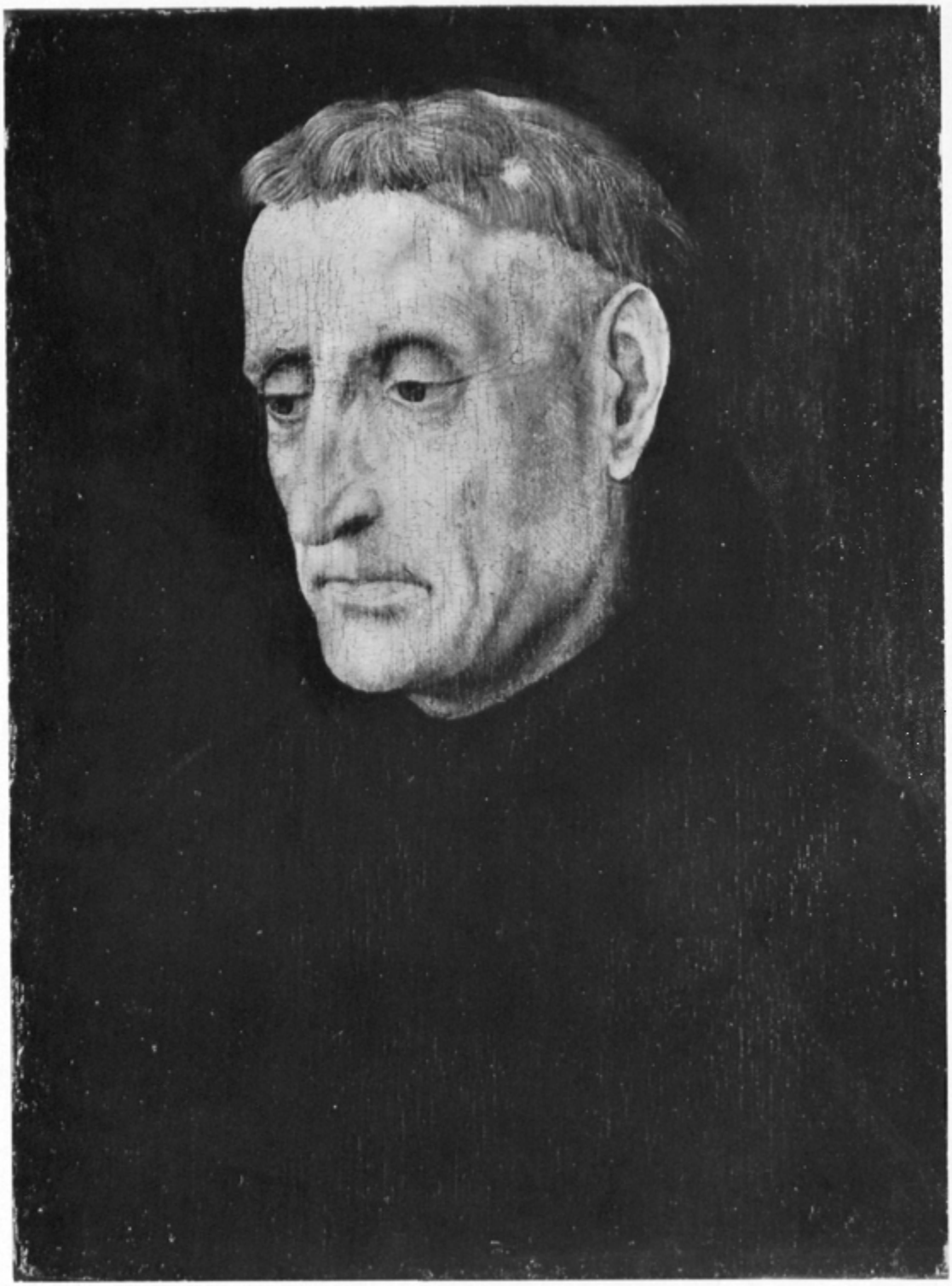




14 a | A
B
14 c | C

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13. H. van der Goes. Portrait of a Man. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Michael Dreicer*



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15. H. van der Goes. Nativity. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* 16. H. van der Goes. Nativity. *Salisbury, Earl of Pembroke Collection*

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15. H. van der Goes. Nativity, Detail. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



Plate
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15. H. van der Goes. Nativity, Detail. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*

Plate
28









17

17 a | 17 d | 17 d

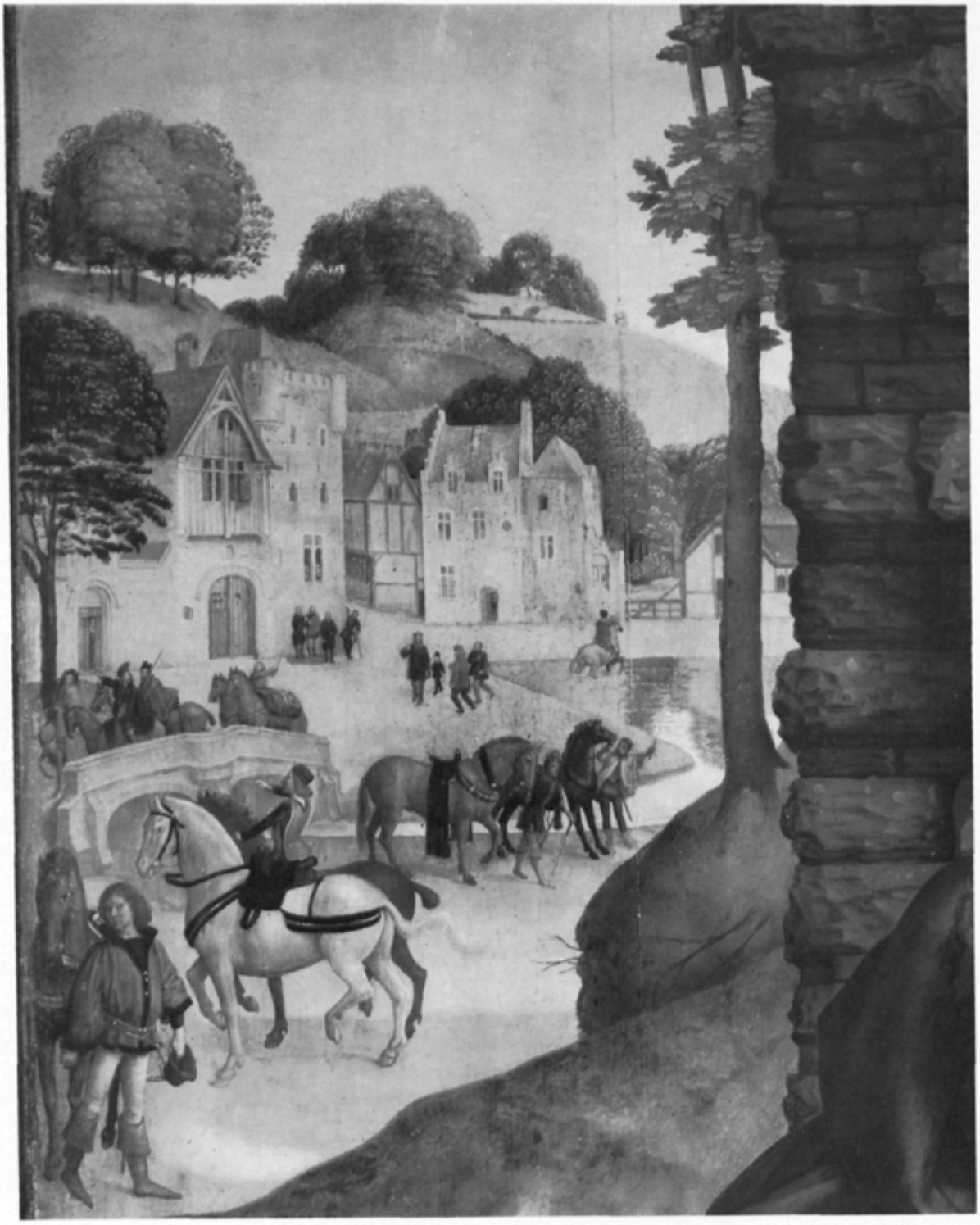
17. H. van der Goes. Adoration of the Kings. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* 17 a. H. van der Goes, copy. Adoration of the Kings. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.* 17 d. H. van der Goes, copy(?). Two Shutters, Nativity and Circumcision. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



Plate
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17. H. van der Goes. Adoration of the Kings, Detail. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*

Plate
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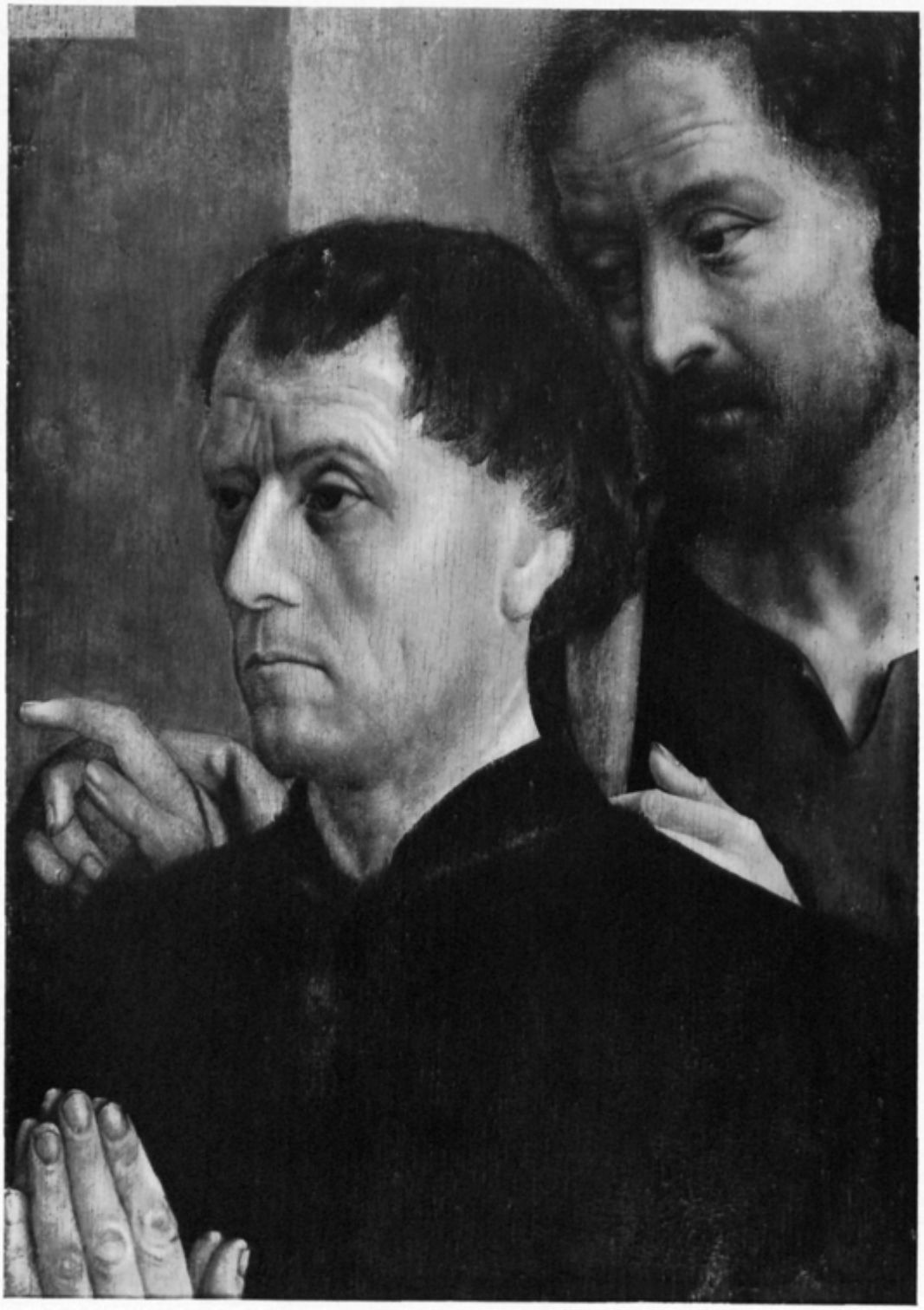


17. H. van der Goes. Adoration of the Kings, Detail. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



17. H. van der Goes. Adoration of the Kings, Detail. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*

Plate
32



18. H. van der Goes. Donor with St. John the Baptist. *Baltimore, Md., Walters Art Gallery*

Plate
33





19a
19b

19 a. H. van der Goes, copy. David and Abigail. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 19 b. H. van der Goes, copy. David and Abigail. *Prague, Narodni Galerie*

Plate
34







20 a
20 b | A

20 a. After van der Goes, by G. David. Adoration of the Kings. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.* 20 b. H. van der Goes, copy. Adoration of the Kings. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* A. After van der Goes, Book Illumination. Adoration of the Kings. *Formerly Mons, Fauconnier Collection*

Plate
35





21 a
21 b

21 a. H. van der Goes, copy. Adoration of the Kings. *Bath, Victoria Art Gallery.* 21 b. H. van der Goes, copy. Adoration of the Kings. *Formerly Madrid, Don Juan de Valencia Collection*

Plate
36





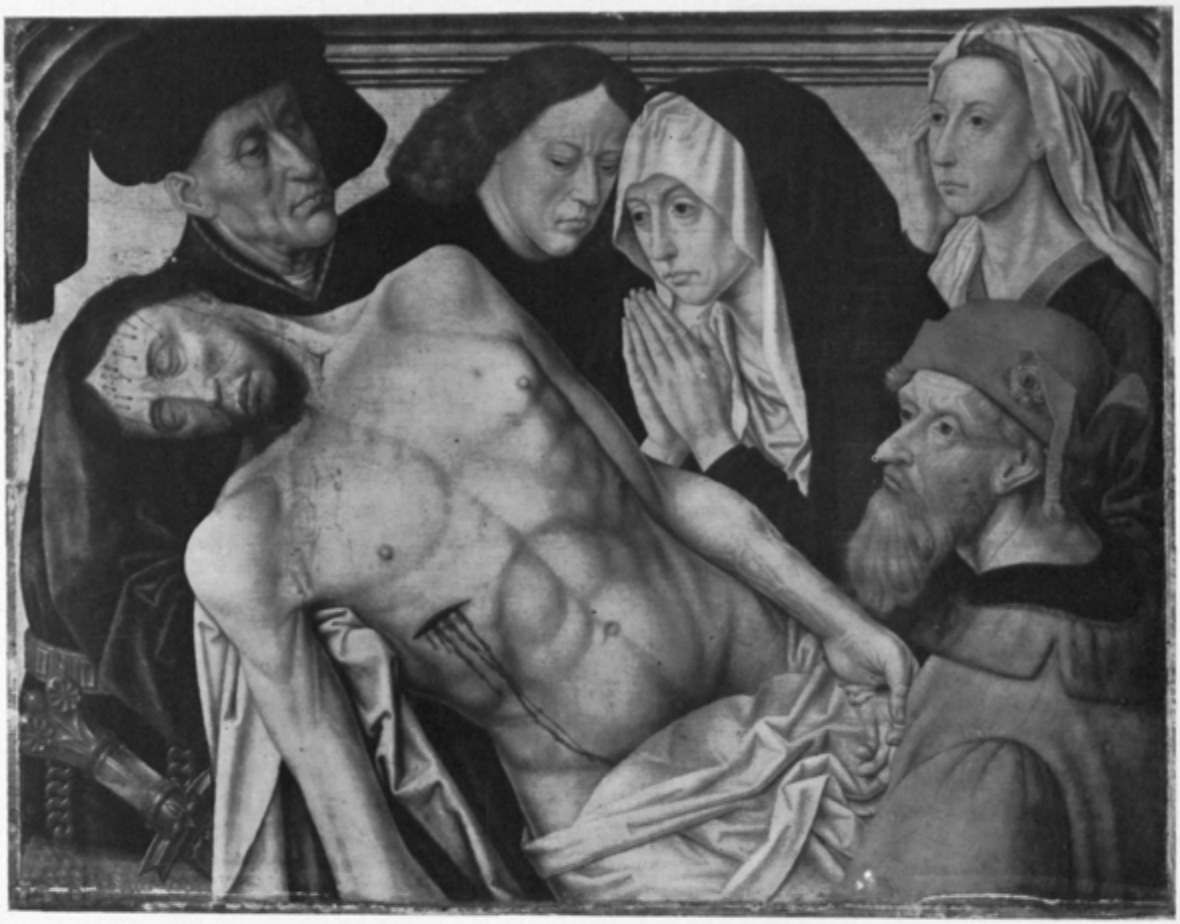




23 b
22 a | 23 c
22 b

22 a. H. van der Goes, copy. Adoration of the Kings. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*. 22 b. H. van der Goes, copy. Adoration of the Kings. *Copenhagen, National Museum of Art*. 23 b. H. van der Goes, copy. Deposition. Paris, Thiébauld-Sisson Collection (?). 23 c. H. van der Goes, copy. Deposition. *Vila Viçosa, Paço Ducal, Fundação da Casa de Bragança*

Plate
37







23 a

23 c | 23 f

23 a. H. van der Goes, copy. Deposition. *Naples, Museo di Capodimonte*. 23 c. H. van der Goes, copy. Deposition, Fragment. *Oxford, Christ Church College*. 23 f. H. van der Goes, copy. Deposition. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*

Plate
38







25 b

25 a | 25 c

25 b. H. van der Goes, copy. Death of the Virgin. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* 25 a. H. van der Goes, copy. Death of the Virgin. *Prague, Narodni Galerie.* 25 c. H. van der Goes, copy. Death of the Virgin. *London, National Gallery*







26a | A

27

26 a. After van der Goes, by A. Benson. Virgin with Prophets and Sibyls. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* A. After van der Goes, Book Illumination. Virgin with Prophets and Sibyls. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (see p. 73, No. 26). 27. After van der Goes, by G. David (?). Virgin and Child. *London, National Gallery*

Plate
40







29
A | 28 a

29. H. van der Goes, follower. Virgin and Child. *Formerly Budapest, Herzog Collection.* A. Master of the Khanenko Adoration, After the Master of Flemalle. Virgin in the Apse. *Brussels, Estate of the Late Baronne Gendebien* (see p. 45). 28 a. H. van der Goes, copy. Virgin and Child. *Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten*

Plate
41









30 | 33
32 | 31

30. H. van der Goes. Calvary. *Venice, Museo Civico Correr.* 33. H. van der Goes, imitator. Adoration of the Kings. *Formerly Paris, P. Mersch Gallery.* 32. H. van der Goes, follower. Adoration of the Kings. *Kreuzlingen, H. Kisters Collection.* 31. H. van der Goes, follower (?). Augustus and the Sibyl. *Banbury, Bearsted Collection (National Trust)*

Plate
42









34
35 | 35 a | Add. 144

34. H. van der Goes, follower. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Paris, Musée du Louvre.*
35. H. van der Goes, copy. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Brussels, sold at Fiévez's,* 1928.
35 a. H. van der Goes, copy. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Marseille, Demandolx-Dedons Collection* (?). Add. 144. H. van der Goes, copy. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Ponce, Museo de Arte*



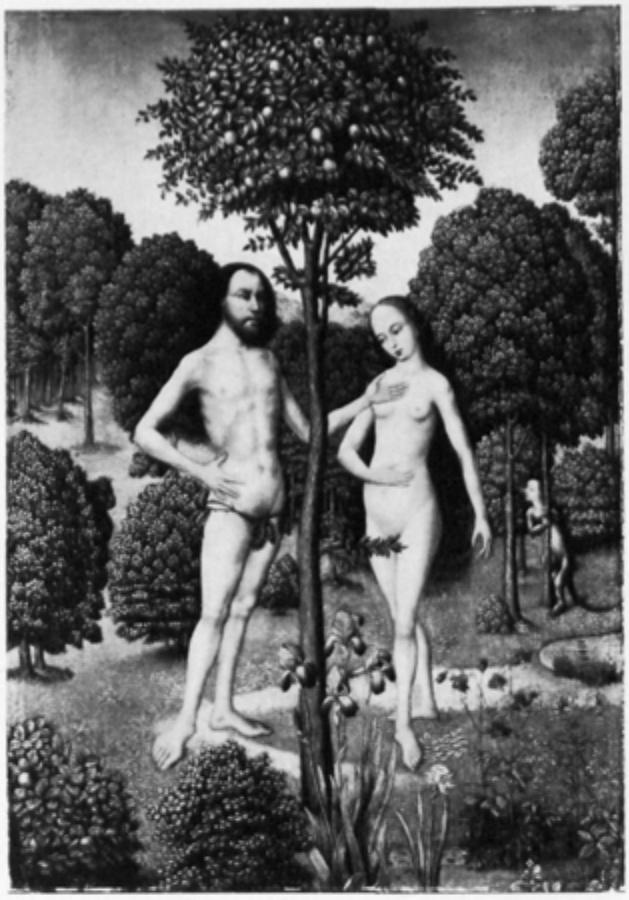


Plate
43

36 | 36 b

36. H. van der Goes, follower. Fall of Man. *Basingstoke, J.B. Kidston Collection.* 36 b. H. van der Goes, follower. Fall of Man. *Cologne-Bayenthal, W. Hack Collection*

Plate
44



37. Master of 1499. Diptych of Chrétien de Hondt. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*













38 | Supp. III
A | B | C | D

38. Master of 1499. Virgin Enthroned with Saints. *Richmond, Va., Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.* Supp. III. H. van der Goes. Drawing, Kneeling Saint. *London, Count A. Seilern Collection.* A. Book Illumination. Virgin Enthroned with Saints, Grimani Codex. *Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana* (see p. 75, No. 38). B. Book Illumination. St. Barbara, Grimani Codex. *Ibidem* (see p. 75, No. 38). C. Book Illumination. St. Catherine, Mayer van den Bergh Codex. *Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum* (see p. 75, No. 38). D. Drawing. Kneeling Saint. *Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett (now lost)* (see p. 75, No. 38)

Plate
46





39. Master of 1499. Altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin. *London, Buckingham Palace* (Reproduced by Gracious Permission of Her Majesty the Queen)

Plate
47







42

40 | 41

42. Master of 1499. Diptych of the Annunciation. *Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen, Bode Museum.* 40. Master of 1499. Holy Family. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* 41. Master of 1499. Virgin with a Donor Couple. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*

Plate
48









43 | 43
44 | 46

43. Master of the Khanenko Adoration. Adoration of the Kings Diptych. *Kiev, National Museumof Fine Arts, Khanenko Collection*. 44. Master of the Khanenko Adoration. Virgin and Child. *Dessau, Staatliche Galerie*. 46. Master of the Khanenko Adoration. Virgin and Child. *Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie*

Plate
49



45. Master of the Khanenko Adoration. Adoration of the Kings. *Saint-Omer, Musée des Beaux-Arts*

Plate
50



47. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Scenes of the Legend of St. Catherine. *Geneva, Private Collection*



Plate
51

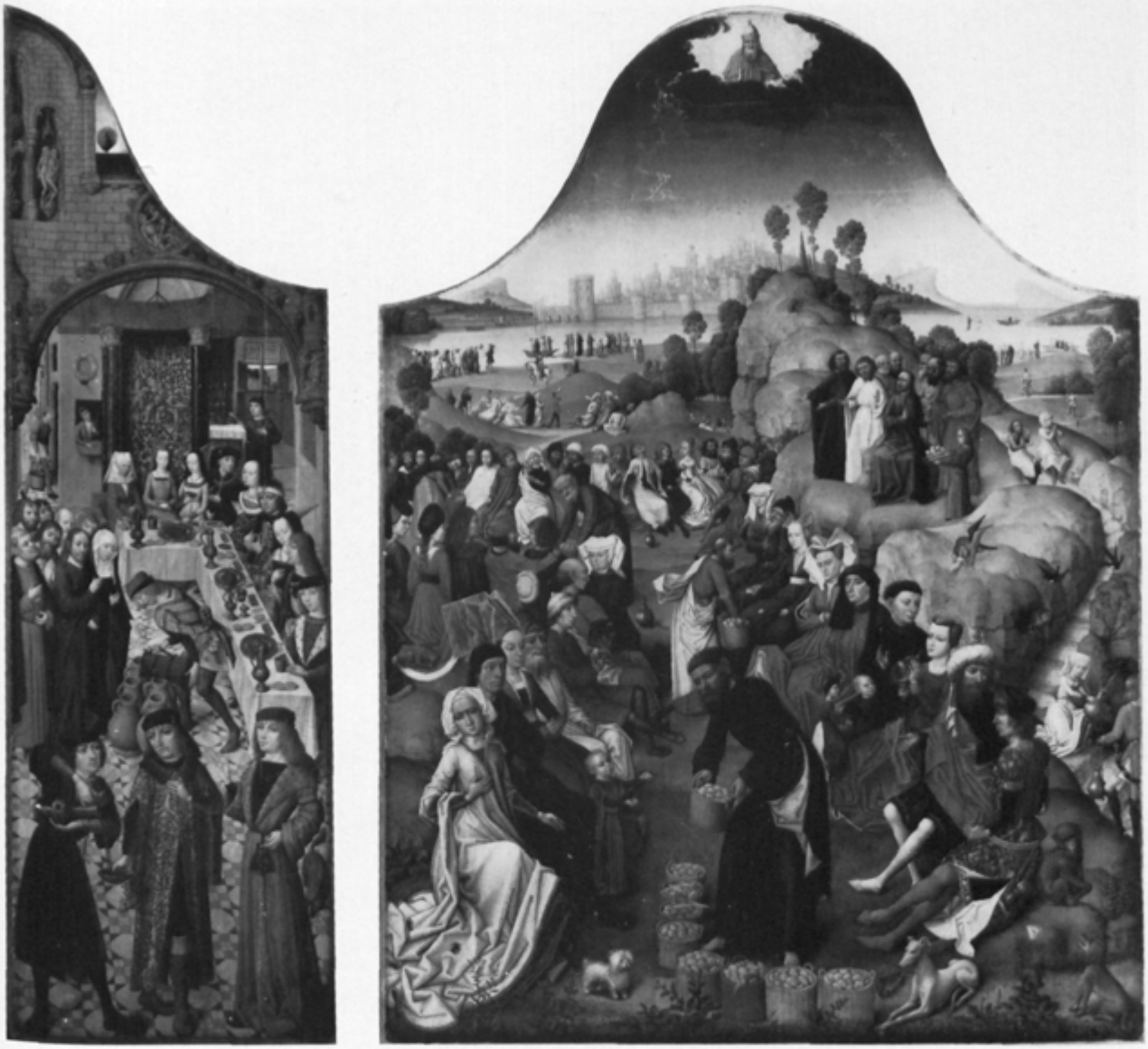
48. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Altarpiece of the Last Supper. *Bruges, Seminary*

Plate
52





49. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine and Assistants. Altarpiece of the Feeding of the Ten Thousand. *Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria*



49. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine and Assistants. Altarpiece of the Feeding of the Ten Thousand; Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Centrepiece; Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Christ Turning Water into Wine. Left shutter. *Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria*

Plate
54








52|52|50

52|52|53

52. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Two Shutters : Annunciation, Presentation at the Temple, Reverse : Virgin and Child, St. John the Evangelist. *Florence, Museo del Bargello.* 50. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Calvary. *Madrid, Museo del Prado.* 53. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Two Shutters, St. Blaise and St. Catherine. *Geneva, Private Collection*



Plate
55





51

A|51

51. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Altarpiece of the Deposition with Reverse : Annunciation. *Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum.* A. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, copy. Deposition. *Present location unknown* (see Note 89)

Plate
56





54
54 a

54. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Altarpiece of the Virgin with Saints (Right Wing lost). *Granada, Capilla Real.* 54 a. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, replica. Altarpiece of the Virgin with Saints; and Reverse, Annunciation. *'s Heerenberg, Gelderland, Estate of the Late J.H. van Heek*



Plate
57



55
56

55. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Angels. *Bourges, Musées de la Ville.* 56. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Lower Part of the Last Judgment. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*

Plate
58



57. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Altarpiece of the Legend of St. Barbara. Left Wing. *Bruges, Confrérie du Saint-Sang*



Plate
59





57
A | B

57. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Centrepiece. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* A. Drawing. Legend of St. Barbara. *New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.* B. Drawing. Legend of St. Barbara. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*

Plate
60













58|59 58. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. A Saint Preaching. *Princeton, Art Museum, Princeton University.*
60|61 59. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Betrothal of a Saint. *Herdringen, Count Fürstenberg-Herdringen Collection.* 60. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. St. Ursula with Companions. *Formerly Budapest, F. Baumgarten Collection.* 61. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Shutters of a Carved Altarpiece. *Rossbach Castle, Freiherr von Thüngen Collection*





Plate
61



62 | 63
64

62. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Jesus in the Temple. *Munich, sold 1909.* 63. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Henry II Fighting the Infidels. *Münster, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte.* 64. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Coronation of Henry II. *Nüremberg, Germanisches Museum*

Plate
62







65 / 66 | 67 65. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Virgin Enthroned. *Montreal, M. Stern Collection.* 66. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Scene from the Legend of St. Géry. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan to the Mauritshuis, The Hague.* 67. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Scenes from the Legend of St. Géry. *Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland*





Plate
63



68. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Two Shutters from an Altarpiece of the Adoration. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, M. Friedsam Collection*

Plate
64







69. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine and Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Altarpiece of Job. *Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum*





Plate
65



of

Plate
66



70. Master of Sainte Gudule. St. Géry Preaching. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*





Plate
67





73 | 71

72 | Supp. 116

73. Master of Sainte Gudule. Virgin with the Magdalene and a Donatrix. *Liège, Musée Diocésain.* 71. Master of Sainte Gudule. Sts. Elizabeth, Catherine and Rosalie (?). *Present location unknown.* 72. Master of Sainte Gudule. Clothing of the Beggars. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation.* Supp. 116. Master of Sainte Gudule. Liberation of the Prisoners. *Paris, Musée de Cluny*

Plate
68





74
—
75

74. Master of Sainte Gudule. Four Panels of the Passion of Christ. *Present location unknown. New York, sold at Parke-Bernet's 1950.* 75. Master of Sainte Gudule. Altarpiece of St. Anne. *Paris, Faculté de Médecine*









76|77 76. Master of Sainte Gudule. Portrait of a Young Man. *London, National Gallery.*
Add. 157|78 77. Master of Sainte Gudule. Portrait of a Young Man. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.* Add. 157. Master of Sainte Gudule. Betrothal of the Virgin. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* 78. Master of Sainte Gudule. Betrothal of the Virgin. *Haarlem, Bisschoppelijk Museum*

Plate
70









79 A | 79 B

79 C | 79 D

79. Master of the Joseph Sequence. Story of Joseph. A. Joseph Hidden in a Well. B. Joseph Sold by his Brothers. C. Joseph Introduced in Potiphar's House. *Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen, Bode Museum.* D. Joseph and Potiphar's Wife. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



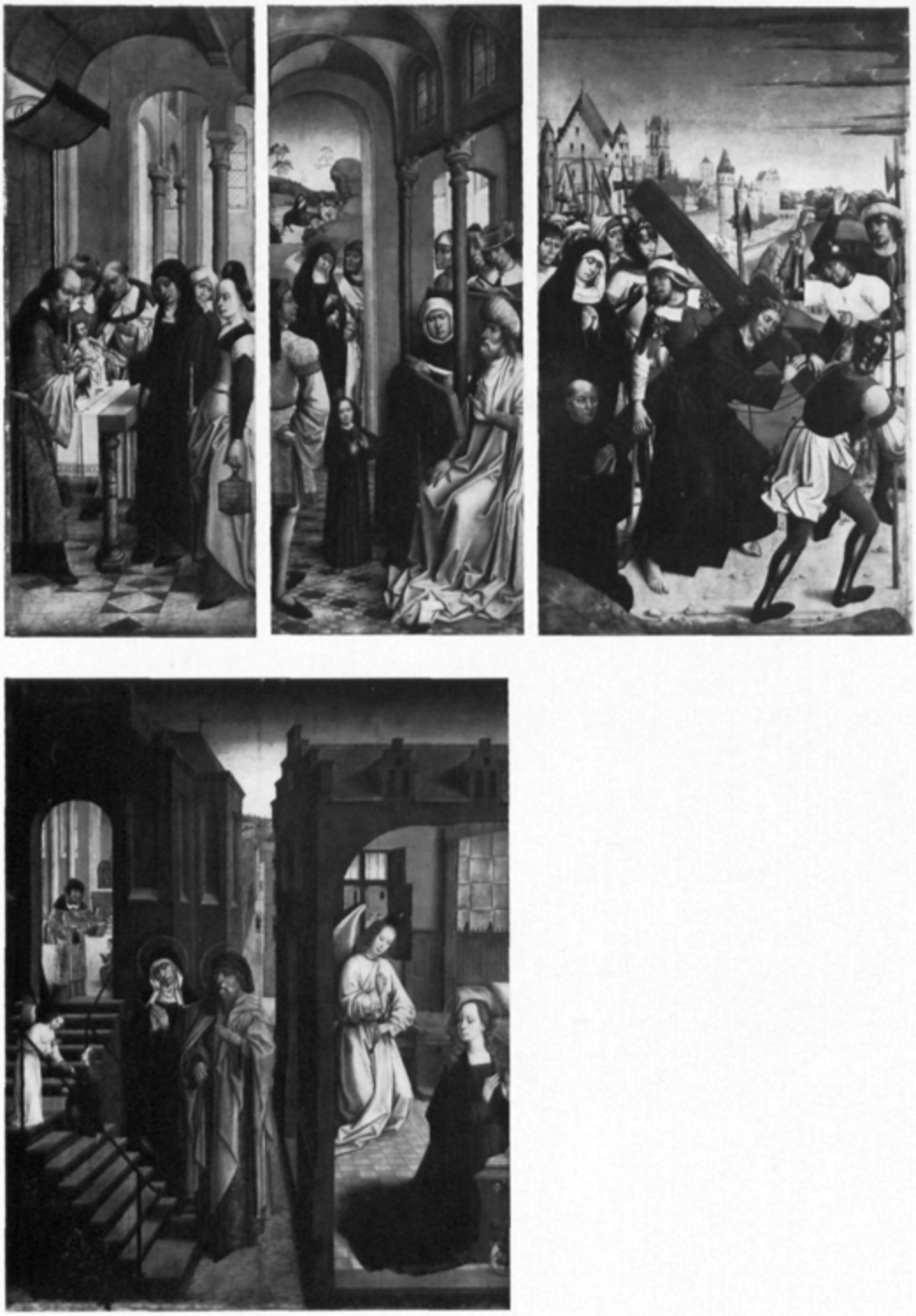


Plate
71

79 E | 79 F

79. Master of the Joseph Sequence. Story of Joseph. E. Joseph Interpreting the Dreams. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, H.B. Dick Fund.* F. The Marriage of Joseph and Asenath. *Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen, Bode Museum*

Plate
72



80. Master of the Joseph Sequence. Altarpiece of Affligem. The two Panels of the Left Wing, the Left part of the Central Panel; the Reverse of the Left Wing. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*









80. Master of the Joseph Sequence. Altarpiece of Affligem. The Centre Part of the Central Panel (the Right Part, with a Descent of the Cross, is lost), the two Panels of the Right Wing, the Reverse of the Right Wing. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

Plate
74



82. Master of the Joseph Sequence. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment; on the Shutters : Philip the Fair and Joan the Mad. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



81. R. van der Weyden, follower. Altarpiece of the Nativity. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters;* Outer Left Wing, Annunciation, *England, Private Collection;* Outer Right Wing, Circumcision, *Zurich, Private Collection*

Plate
76









83 a | 83 b
83 c | 83 f

83 a. Master of the Joseph Sequence (?). Philip the Fair. *Windsor Castle, Royal Collections (copyright reserved).* 83 b. Master of the Joseph Sequence (?). Philip the Fair. *Paris, Musée du Louvre.* 83 c. Master of the Joseph Sequence (?). Philip the Fair. *Present location unknown.* 83 f. Master of the Joseph Sequence (?). Philip the Fair. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



Plate
77

84. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Virgin and Child. *Amsterdam, E. Proehl Collection*

Plate
78





84 a. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts*





Plate
79



84 b | 84 c
| 84 d

84 b. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Virgin and Child. *Formerly Uccle, near Brussels, van Gelder Collection.* 84 c. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Virgin and Child. *London, Private Collection.* 84 d. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Virgin and Child. *New York, The Lehman Collection*

Plate
80





85 | 85 b
85. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Virgin and Child. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.* 85 b. Master of the Embroidered Foliage, replica. Virgin and Child. *Princeton, Art Museum, Princeton University*

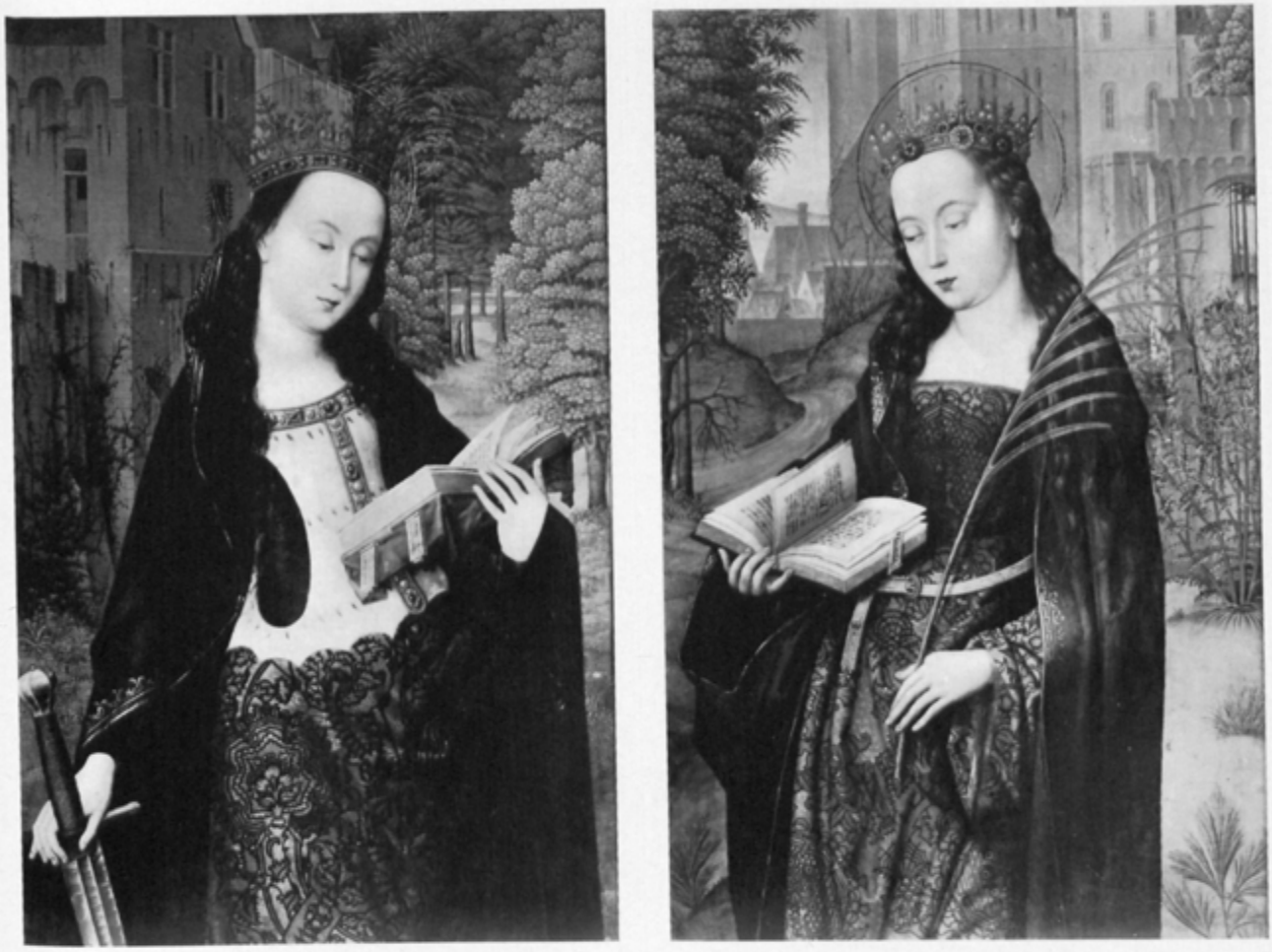
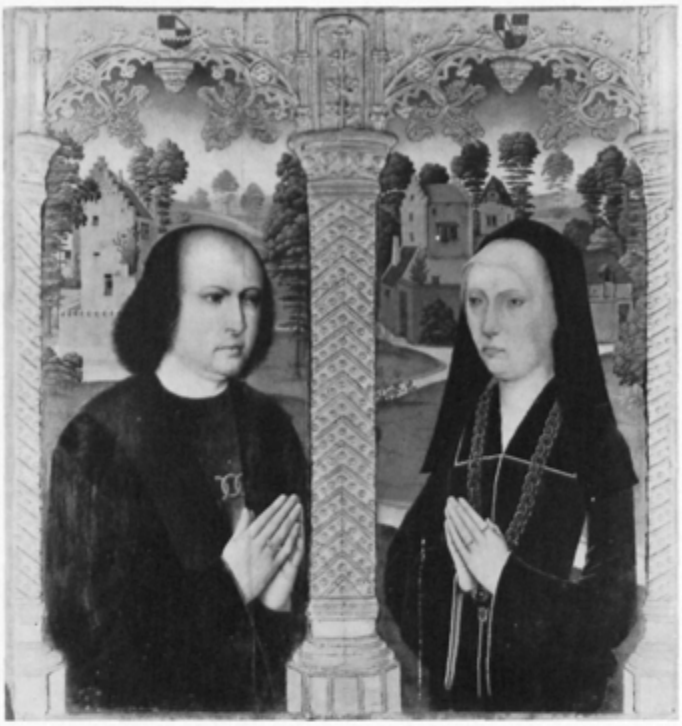


Plate
81

86. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Sts. Catherine and Barbara. *The Hague, vanWickevoort-Crommelin Collection*

Plate
82









Supp. 128 | 87
89 | 87

Supp. 128 and 87. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Triptych of the Virgin and Child : Central Panel. *Munich, X. Scheidwimmer Gallery;* Two assembled Wings with Donors, and Reverse. *Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts.* 89. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Virgin and Child. *New York, G. Forkes Collection*



88. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Virgin and Child with Angels. *Paris, R.G. Grog Collection*

Plate
84



90. Colijn de Coter. Altarpiece of the Trinity. Centrepiece. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



90. Colijn de Coter. Altarpiece of the Trinity. Right Shutter with the Three Marys and Reverse. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*

Plate
86





91 | 92
91. Colijn de Coter. Sts. Michael and Agnes. *Greenville, S.C., Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings.*
92. Colijn de Coter. Man of Sorrows. *London, sold at Sotheby's, 1968*

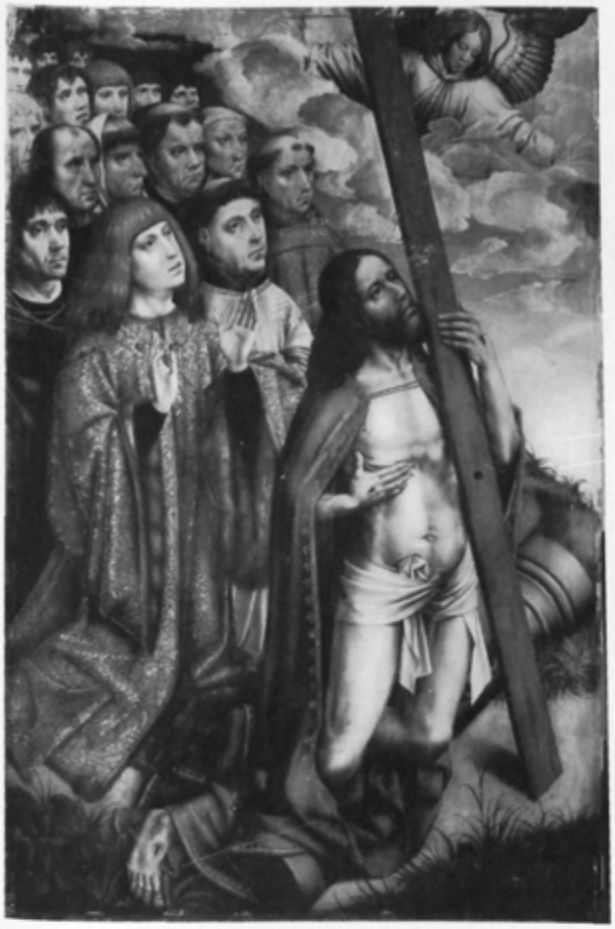
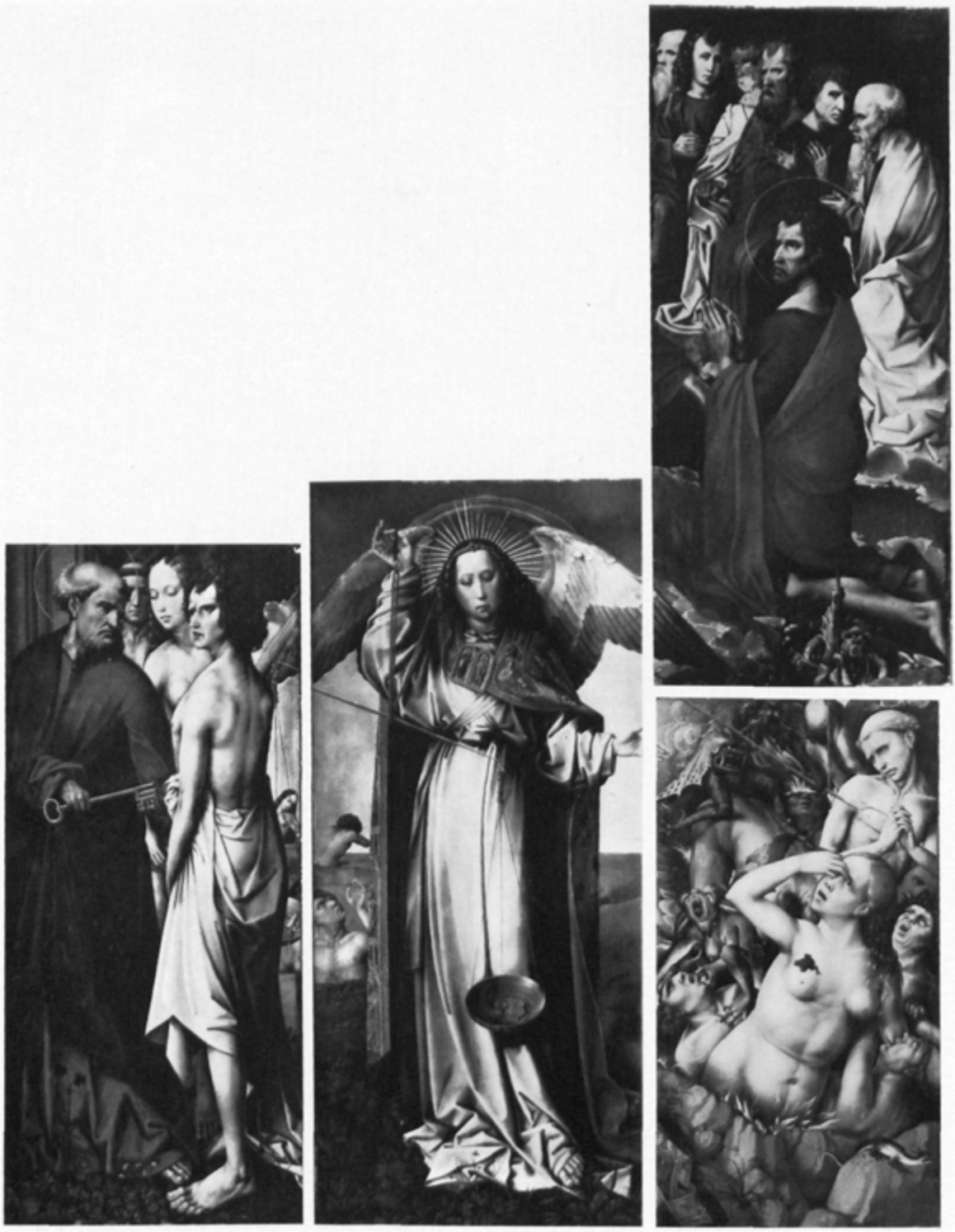




Plate
87

93. Colijn de Coter. Panels with Christ and Philip the Fair, the Virgin and Joan the Mad (Fragments of an Altarpiece).
Paris, Musée du Louvre

Plate
88



94. Colijn de Coter. Fragments of a Last Judgement. St Peter and the Blessed. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.* St. Michel. *Bonn, Virnich Collection.* St. John the Baptist and Apostles. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.* Damned in Hell. *Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum*





Plate
89



97 | 96

95

97. Colijn de Coter. St. John the Evangelist. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.*
96. Colijn de Coter. Mourning Magdalene. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.*
95. Colijn de Coter. Deposition. *Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie*

Plate
90



98. Colijn de Coter. Virgin and Child. *Düsseldorf, Private Collection*



Plate
91

99. Colijn de Coter. Virgin and Child. *Chicago, The Art Institute, M.A. Ryerson Collection*

Plate
92



100. Colijn de Coter. Virgin with St. Luke. *Vieure, near Moulins, Church*





101 | 101 a

101. Colijn de Coter. Deposition. *Messina, Museo Civico.* 101 a. Colijn de Coter, copy. Deposition. *Bilbao, de Jado Collection*

Plate
94







102

103 | 104

102. Colijn de Coter. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Berlin, sold at Lepke's, 1912.* 103. Colijn de Coter. Adoration of the Magi. *Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* 104. Colijn de Coter. Lamentation. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*













Add. 164 | 106 | 106

Add. 164 | 106 | 106

106. Colijn de Coter and Assistants. The Legend of St. Romuald, Four Panels. *Mechlin, Cathedral;* Add. 164, Two Panels, *Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland*

Plate
96



106 and 109. Colijn de Coter and Assistants. The Legend of St. Romuald, Six Panels. *Mechlin, Cathedral*



Plate
97

106. Colijn de Coter and Assistants. The Legend of St. Romuald, Six Panels. *Mechlin, Cathedral*

Plate
98



106. Colijn de Coter and Assistants. The Legend of St. Romuald, Six Panels. *Mechlin, Cathedral*







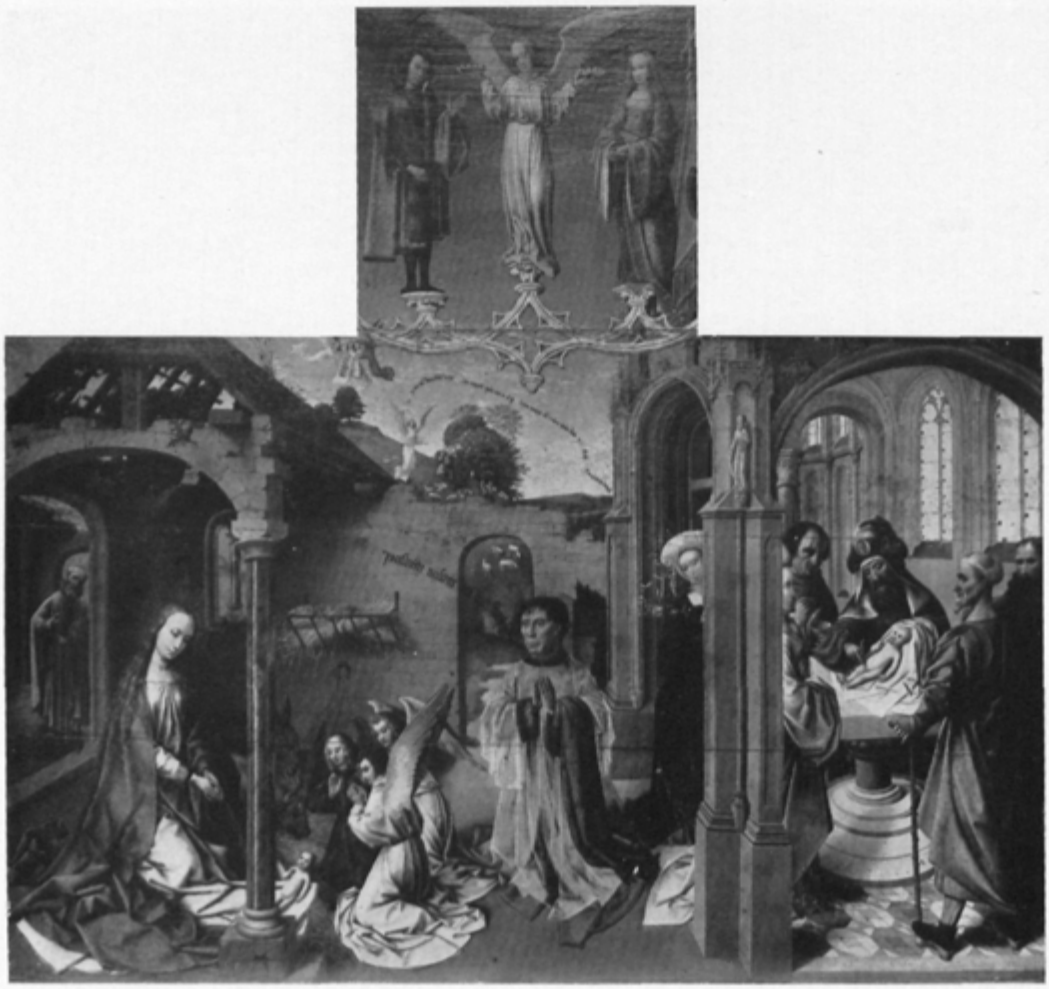


106

107

106. Colijn de Coter and Assistants. The Legend of St. Romuald. Three Panels. *Mechlin, Cathedral.* 107. Master of the Guild of St. George, The Guild of St. George. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*

Plate
100





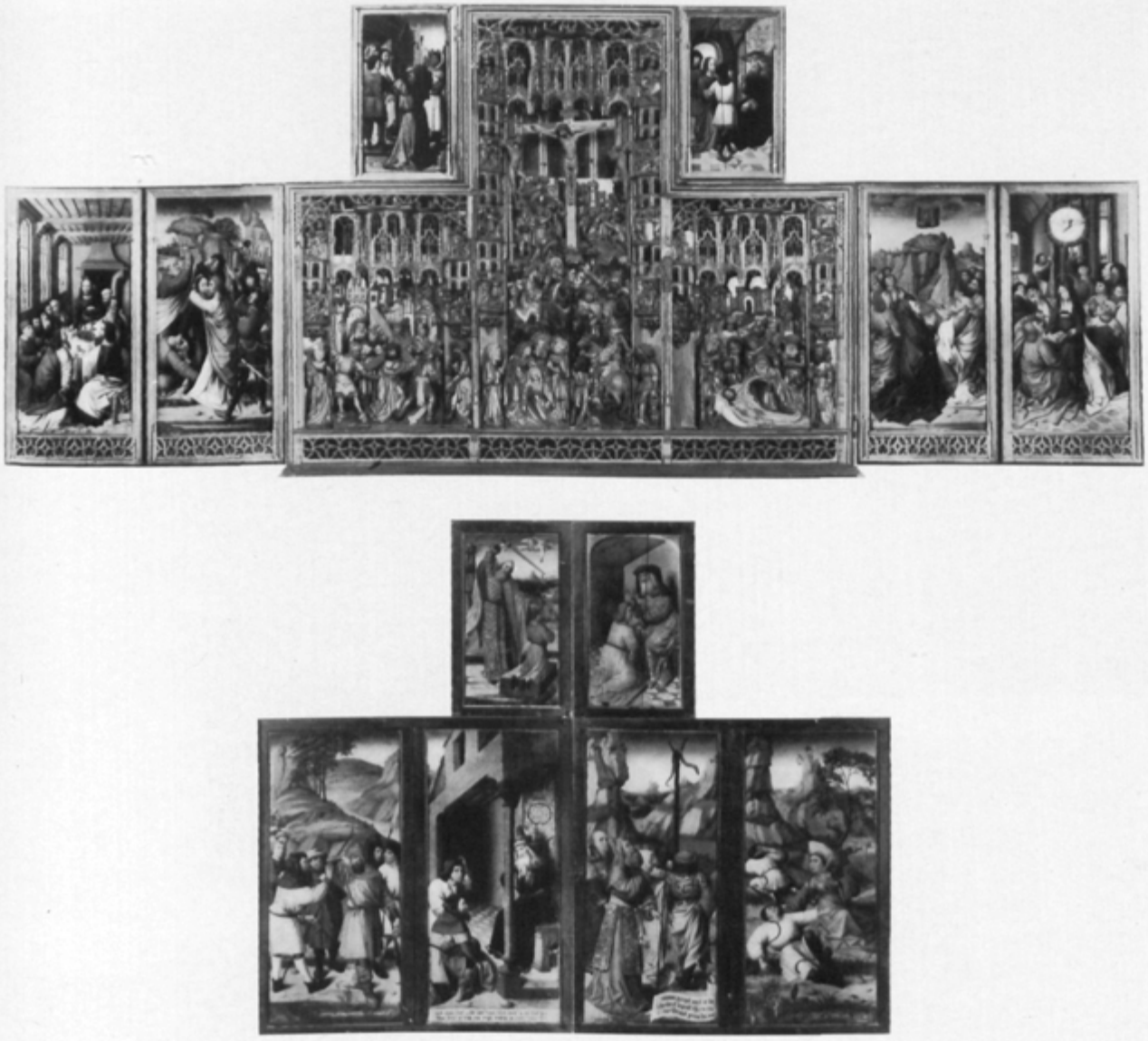






105
108 | 108 | A | B

105. Master of the Orsoy Altarpiece (?). Nativity and Circumcision. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts.* 108. Master of the Guild of St. George. Jan de Mol. *London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Lee Collection*; the Same, Present State. A. Master of the Orsoy Altarpiece. Detail of a Panel of the Orsoy Altarpiece. *Orsoy, Church* (see p. 66 and No. 105). B. Anonymous Painter. Detail of a Panel of an Altarpiece in the Cathedral of Strängnäs (see pp. 63-64)

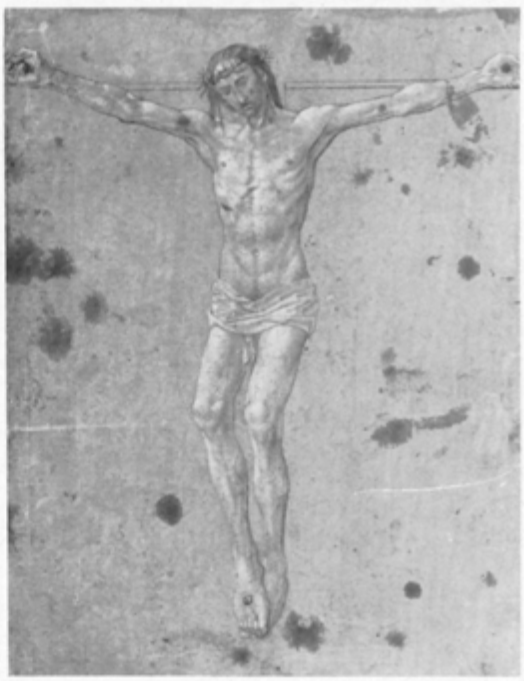


Colijn de Coter, workshop. Wings of the Altarpiece of the Passion of Christ. *Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe* (see p. 66 and No. 105)

Plate
102







A
B | C

A. H. van der Goes. Drawing. Jacob and Rachel. *Oxford, Christ Church Collection* (see p. 37). B. H. van der Goes (?). Drawing. St. George and the Dragon. *Washington, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection* (see p. 37). C. H. van der Goes (?). Christ Crucified. *Windsor Castle* (Reproduced by Gracious Permission of Her Majesty the Queen) (see Note 79)

Plate
103











A | B
C | C | D

A. H. van der Goes, follower. Drawing. Kneeling Woman. *New York, Pierpont Morgan Library* (see p. 46). B. H. van der Goes, follower. Drawing. Standing Magdalene. *Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett* (see p. 46). C. H. van der Goes, follower. Drawing. Adoration of the Kings. *Bremen, Kunsthalle*. Copy of this drawing before damage (Prestel, Frankfurt, 1916) (see p. 47). D. H. van der Goes, follower. Drawing. Standing Saint. *London, E. Poynter Collection* (see p. 47)

Plate
104









A | B
C | Add. 161

A. Master of the Portraits of Princes. Young Man of the Fonseca Family. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen* (see p. 59). B. Master of the Portraits of Princes. Englebert de Nassau. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum* (see p. 59). C. Master of the Portraits of Princes. Portrait of a Man. *Poznan, Museum (now lost)* (see p. 59). Add. 161. Master of the Portraits of Princes. Louis de Gruuthuse. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*

Plate
105





A
B

A. Master of the Holy Kindred. Adoration of the Kings. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund* (see pp. 44 and 45). B. Anonymous Painter. Holy Kindred. *Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten*

Plate
106



Supp. 110. H. van der Goes. Portrait of a Man. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, H.O. Havermeyer Collection*

Plate
107







| Supp. 112

Supp. 114 | Supp. 115

Supp. 112. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Virgin and Child. *Brussels, R. Finck Collection.* Supp. 114. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Votive Panel with Christ on the Cross. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen* Supp. 115. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Double Portrait. *Banbury, Viscount Bearsted Collection (National Trust)*

Plate
108








Supp. 117 | Supp. 118 | Supp. 119
Supp. 121 | Supp. 121 | Supp. 122

Supp. 117. Master of Sainte Gudule. Virgin in the Temple. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique,* Supp. 118. Master of Sainte Gudule. Resurrection. *Paris, Auction 1937.* Supp. 119. Master of Sainte Gudule. Christ Before Pilate. Paris, Popoff Gallery, 1935. Supp. 121. Master of Sainte Gudule. Two Scenes from the Passion. *Present location unknown.* Supp. 122. Master of Sainte Gudule. Christ Before Pilate. *The Right Half: Williamstown. Mass., Williams College Museum of Art*









Plate
109





Supp. 120

Supp. 123 | Supp. 124

Supp. 120. Master of Sainte Gudule. Two Shutters from an Altarpiece of the Passion. With Reverse. *Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.* Supp. 123. Master of Sainte Gudule. St. Jerome. *New York, Durlacher Brothers Gallery (1945).* Supp. 124. Master of Sainte Gudule. Adoration of the Kings. *Baltimore, Md., Museum of Art, S.A. May Collection*

Plate
110











Supp. 125 | Supp. 125

Supp. 126 | Supp. 126 | Add. 158

Supp. 125. Master of Sainte Gudule. St. Catherine with Philosophers. *Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts;* St. Catherine Disputing with Clerics. *London, sold at Christie's, 1967.* Supp. 126. Master of Sainte Gudule. Scenes of the Legend of St. James : Judgment of St. James. *London, sold at Sotheby's, 1968.* Reverse : St. James and the Pilgrims. *Cologne, sold at Lempertz', 1960.* Add. 158. Master of Sainte Gudule. Resurrection. *Present location unknown*





Supp. 129

Supp. 130 | Supp. 131

Supp. 129. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Altarpiece of the Virgin with Angels. *Polizzi Generosa, Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli.* Supp. 130. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Lamentation. *Amiens, Musée de Picardie.* Supp. 131. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Sts. Jerome and Catherine. *Paris, Perdoux Gallery, 1936*

Plate
112













Supp. 132 | Supp. 133

Supp. 134 | Supp. 135 | Supp. 135

Supp. 132. Colijn de Coter. Entombment. *Formerly Monceau-sur-Sambre, Houtart Collection*. Supp. 133. Colijn de Coter. Christ and the Sorrowing Virgin. *Paris, Art Market, before 1936*. Supp. 134. Colijn de Coter. Entombment. *The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit*. Supp. 135. Colijn de Coter. Shutter : Moses by the Red Sea; Reverse, Ecce Homo. *Brussels, sold at Giroux, 1951*

Plate
113



Add. 137. H. van der Goes. Virgin and Child. *Pavia, Museo Civico*

Plate
114





Add. 138
Add. 139

Add. 138. H. van der Goes. Christ and the Sorrowing Virgin. *Toledo. Museo Arqueológico Provincial.* Add. 139. H. van der Goes. The Virgin of the Passion. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek (on loan from the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg)*

Plate
115







Add. 140 | A

B

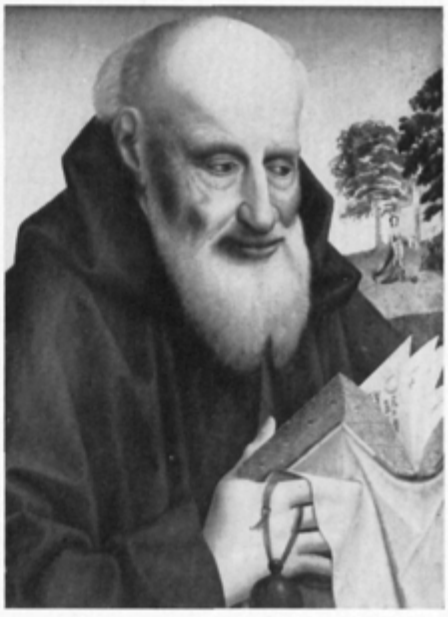
Add. 140. H. van der Goes, copy. St. Luke, fragment (?). *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.* A. After van der Goes. Drawing. St. Luke. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Koenigs Collection.* B. After van der Goes, Engraving by A. Wiericx. St. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin

Plate
116









Add. 141 | Add. 142
Add. 143 | Add. 165

Add. 141. H. van der Goes, copy. Nativity with Two Shepherds. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.* Add. 142. H. van der Goes, copy. Nativity with Two Midwives. *London, National Gallery.* Add. 143. H. van der Goes, copy, Lamentation. *Madrid, Gomez-Moreno Collection.* Add. 165. Colijn de Coter. St. Anthony Abbot. *San Francisco. M. H. de Young Memorial Museum*



Plate
117



Add. 145. Anonymous Painter. Altarpiece of St. Hippolytus. *Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, W. M. Cabot Fund*

Plate
118









Add. 148 | Add. 147
Add. 149 | Add. 159

Add. 148. Master of the Khanenko Adoration, copy (?). *Hulshorst, W.H. de Monchy Collection.* Add. 147. Master of 1499. Christ, fragment. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* Add. 149. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. *Florence, Bargello, Carrand Collection.* Add. 159. Master of Sainte Gudule. St. Ursula, fragment, *Cologne, sold at Lempertz', 1954*







Plate
119



Add. 153 | Add. 151 | Add. 152

A

Add. 153. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Christ at the Column. *Amsterdam, Dr. H. Wetzlar Collection.* Add. 151. Master of the Legend of St. Catherine. Nativity. *Dijon, Abbé F. Perrenet Collection.* Add. 152. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Adoration of the Kings. *Rome, Galleria Colonna.* A. Master of Sainte Gudule, after. Tapestry. Adoration of the Kings. *Sens, Cathedral* (see Note 103)

Plate
120



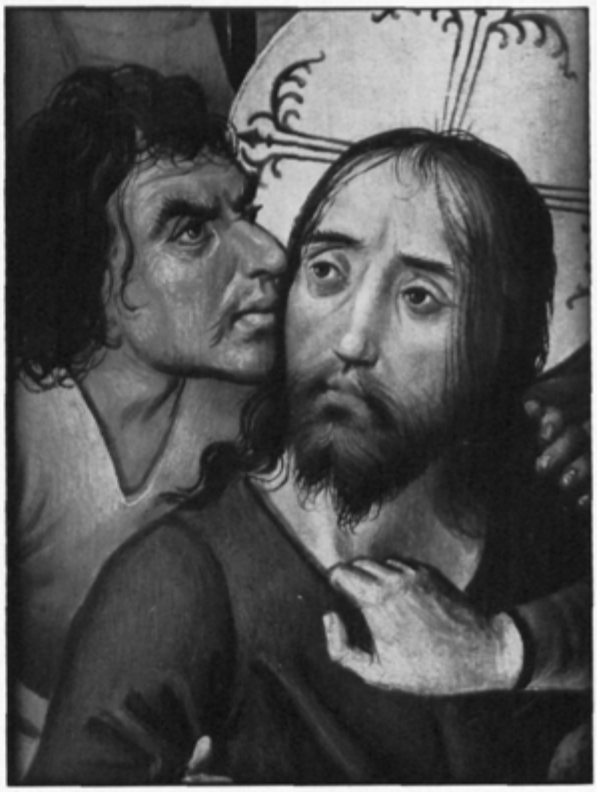
Plate
121

Add. 146. Master of the Evora Altarpiece. Altarpiece of the Virgin. *Evora, Museu Regional* (except for Presentation of the Virgin, Marriage of the Virgin, Presentation of Jesus and Death of the Virgin, at *Lissabon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*)

Plate
122







Add. 155. Master of Sainte Gudule. Wings of the Altarpiece of the Passion, with Reverse and Detail of the Taking of Christ. *Geel, Church of St. Dymphna*











Add. 154 | Add. 160 | Add. 160
Add. 156 | Add. 162

Add. 154. Master of the Legend of St. Barbara. Christ on the Cross. *New York, Mrs. J. Lambert Collection.* Add. 160. Master of the Joseph Sequence. Two Wings with the Legend of St. Barbara. *Baltimore, Md., Walters Art Gallery.* Add. 156. Master of Sainte Gudule. Betrothal of the Virgin. *London, J. Mann Collection.* Add. 162. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Virgin and Child. *Burgos, Museo de la Catedral*

Plate
124







Add. 163. Master of the Embroidered Foliage (?). Polyptych of the Martyrdom of the Sts. Crispin and Crispinian. Centrepiece. *Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe*. The two Right Wings. *Paris, Salavin Collection*

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